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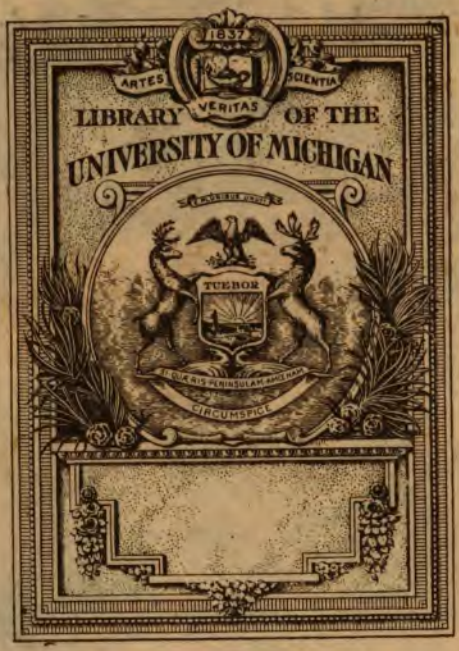
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of them would lead you into a long dissertation, while others might be answered by any Resident on the Island - others again may be answered generally by a reference to what you have published and to what you contemplate in your Plan of Invasion.

Jno H Russell

Private

The Box you had previously forwarded were duly received and sent to the Kentucky Board of Directors by the Ship Indian –

I have lately received several Queries on the Natural History of Java, which excite interest at home, and I take the opportunity of enclosing a copy with a Request that at your leisure you will do me the favor to reply to them generally – Many

Dr Thomas Horsfield

MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES,

F.R.S., &c. &c.

PARTICULARLY IN THE GOVERNMENT OF JAVA, 1811–1816, BENCOOLEN AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, 1817–1824;

WITH

DETAILS OF THE COMMERCE AND RESOURCES OF THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO.

AND

SELECTIONS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE.

BY HIS WIDOW.

Raffles, Sophia (Hull) Lady, d. 1859,

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER XIII.

PAGE

Sir Stamford's arrival at Bencoolen—Improvement in the feelings of the inhabitants—State of affairs in the Eastern Archipelago requires him to proceed to Bengal—Wrecked on the passage—Attention of the Government already directed to the subject of the Dutch encroachments—Lord Hastings determines on another line of policy, and to secure the command of the straits of Malacca—Sir Stamford appointed Agent to the Governor-General for this purpose—Account of the discovery of the Tapir—Departure from Calcutta—Anticipation of Singapore as the spot for the new settlement—Arrival at Penang —Proceeds down the Straits of Malacca—hoists the British flag at Singapore—Acheen—Decides on the right of the crown —Description of Acheen—Reformation introduced at Bencoolen—Journeys—General politics—Conquest of Java—The first convention for the unconditional restoration of it to the Dutch—only communication from Europe—Representations made in England—Apprehensions realised on return to India —Bornean States—Dutch at Palembang—Acheen affairs— Title to the occupation of Singapore—Bible Society—Opinions of Captain Horsburgh and Mr. Carnegie on the settlement of Singapore—Accident to the vessel off Rhio . . . 1

CHAPTER XIV.

Sir Stamford arrives at Bencoolen—Endeavours to induce the inhabitants to take an interest in the improvement of the country—Irregularities which formerly prevailed—School for the

324994

PAGE

children of the slaves—Its success—Missionaries—Religion of the people—Effect of an institution for the Education of the higher orders—Anxiety for Mr. Wilberforce's assistance—Bible Society—Schools—Sir Stamford resolves to proceed again to Calcutta—Billiton—Lord Hastings on the subject of Eastern arrangements—Leaves Calcutta to return to Bencoolen. 42

CHAPTER XV.

Sir Stamford did not succeed in introducing a more economical and simple mode of government for the Eastern Islands—Difficulties of altering established forms—Illness—Sight of Sumatra—Tappanooly—Battas—Population—Language—Manners—Civilized cannibals—Eating their prisoners of war, criminals, and parents, alive—Description of eating a person as a punishment—Padries—Cholera Morbus—Camphor tree—Laws of the Battas—Succession of nephews—Mr. Ward's opinion. . . 74

CHAPTER XVI.

Sir Stamford devotes himself to his favourite pursuits—Builds a house in the country—Collections in Natural History sent home—Correspondence of Captain Flint with the Java Government—Improvement in Bencoolen—Pulo Nias—Easy communication with Palembang across the Island—Sir Stamford's description of his Children—His confidence that he has pursued a right course—His defence of his conduct—His opinion of the powers he was invested with—Arrival of Missionaries—Mr. Burton settles in the Batta country—Sir Stamford not supported by the Ministry—Introduction of British manufactures into China—Agricultural Society—Expense of Singapore—Manufacture of Sugar—Colonization—Lake of Korinchie—Cultivation of rice—Nutmeg-trees—Malayan plants—Political speculation—Death of the Editor's brother. . . 101

CHAPTER XVII.

Sir Stamford forms an establishment on the Island of Nias for the suppression of slavery—Sufficient spices raised at Bencoolen for the supply of Great Britain—Description of the Island of Nias—Its population, exports, slaves—Period of pro-

PAGE

posed return to England—Poggie Islands—Description of the people—Death of Sir Stamford's eldest boy—Death of Captain Auber—Missionaries engaged in printing Malay Bible—Illness of another child—Intended publication on commercial prospects—Death of two children—Youngest child sent to England—Retired life—Expectation of Mr. Canning as Governor-General—Sir Stamford's opinion of the state of England—Arrival of a party for the measurement of the pendulum at the Equator—Death of Dr. Jack—Voyage to Singapore. . . 169

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival at Singapore—Description of the settlement—Grounds of right to its retention—Occupation at Singapore—Selection of site for college—Value of land—Contrast of Bencoolen and Singapore—Number of vessels arrived in the first two years and a half—Bungalow on Singapore hill—Botanic garden—Description of plant described by Dr. Finlayson—Mission to Bali—Drawing up laws and regulations for the settlement—Magistrates—Memorial against slavery—Resolution of the Bengal Government — Instructions to Mr. Crawfurd — Addresses from the inhabitants—Singapore the only place in India where slavery cannot exist—Leaves Singapore—Touches at Batavia—Correspondence with the Baron Van de Capellen . 239

CHAPTER XIX.

Arrival at Bencoolen—Plans for the future—Freedom of the port of Singapore—Account of the Padries—State of health—Death of friends—Death of child—Anxiety about the arrival of the ship Fame—Determines to embark in the Borneo—Arrival of the Fame—Embarkation—Burning of the ship—Appeal to the Court of Directors—Extract from Memorandum book, for regulation of time—Embarks in the Mariner—Storm off the Cape—Arrival at St. Helena—Landing at Plymouth. 296

CHAPTER XX.

Sir Stamford lands at Plymouth—Interview with his child—Resumes his labours—Interrupted by ill health—Views of the civilization and conversion of the heathen—Retrospect of the

PAGE

proceedings of the Bible Society in Sumatra—Malay schools preparing the way for the Scriptures—Translation of St. John's Gospel—Effect of the transfer of the island to the Dutch—Access to China—Singapore Institution—Sir Stamford's life at home—The magistracy—Sudden illness—Purchase of Highwood— Judgment of the Court of Directors on his administration of Java, Sumatra and Singapore—His death. 344

The following is a memorandum of an intended Work, which was found after Sir Stamford's death:—

NOTES ON THE EASTERN ISLANDS.

Comprehending an account of the British Administration of Java; the Proceedings of the Local Authorities on the Restoration of that Colony under the Convention of 1815; the Establishment of the Settlement of Singapore, and the final adjustment of differences with the Netherlands' Government under the Treaty of 1824; with Observations on that Treaty, and its probable effects with reference to the present condition and circumstances of the Archipelago.

By Sir T. Stamford Raffles.

To be printed in one volume quarto, uniformly with the History of Java by the same Author, to which work it may be considered supplementary.

Also (in connexion with the above, and as introductory to the publications of Dr. Horsfield), Notes illustrative of the Natural History, and more especially of the Geology of the Malay Islands, containing geographical and geological notices, with an account of some of the more remarkable vegetable productions, and the outline of a Fauna Malayana; with Plates:

By the same Author, assisted by Dr. Horsfield.

Contents.—Introduction. Geographical and geological outline of the Archipelago.—Ditto of Java, with plates.—Ditto of Sumatra, with ditto; and journey to Menangkabu.—Banca, with map and abstract memoir; principal vegetable productions, and their distribution and localities.—Fauna Malayana.—Larger animals, &c.; distribution and account of, generally, as introductory to the descriptive catalogue. —Catalogue arranged scientifically with relation to the order of nature.

MEMOIR

OF

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, F.R.S.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sir Stamford's arrival at Bencoolen—Improvement in the feelings of the inhabitants—State of affairs in the Eastern Archipelago requires him to proceed to Bengal—Wrecked on the passage—Attention of the Government already directed to the subject of the Dutch encroachments—Lord Hastings determines on another line of policy, and to secure the command of the Straits of Malacca—Sir Stamford appointed Agent to the Governor-General for this purpose—Account of the discovery of the Tapir—Departure from Calcutta—Anticipation of Singapore as the spot for the new settlement—Arrival at Penang—Proceeds down the Straits of Malacca—hoists the British flag at Singapore—Acheen—Decides on the right of the crown—Description of Acheen—Reformation introduced at Bencoolen—Journeys—General politics—Conquest of Java—The first convention for the unconditional restoration of it to the Dutch—only communication from Europe—Representations made in England—Apprehensions realised on return to India—Borean States—Dutch at Palembang—Acheen affairs—Title to the occupation of Singapore—Bible Society—Opinions of Captain Horsburgh and Mr. Carnegie on the settlement of Singapore—Accident to the vessel off Rhio.

On his return to Bencoolen Sir Stamford had the satisfaction to find that a general impression prevailed with those committed to his charge, that the object of his government

was to promote a spirit of enterprise among them as individuals, to give the utmost freedom to cultivation, to extend the commerce of the country, and to advance the happiness of the people in general. It would have been delightful to him to have remained with them, desirous as they appeared to be to promote his views for their welfare; but the larger national interest in the Eastern Archipelago required his immediate attention. On his arrival in Sumatra he had foreseen that it would be necessary for him to have personal communication with the Bengal government on this subject; and he therefore thought it advisable to proceed at once to Calcutta.

It is only necessary to state, that Sir Stamford embarked in a very small vessel, which had no better accommodation than one small cabin, with only a port-hole to admit air, where centipedes and scorpions roved about without interruption: but personal convenience was never considered by him if it interfered with duty, and no better opportunity was likely to occur. The vessel lost a mast in the Bay of Bengal, and, owing to a drunken pilot, was literally upset in the middle of the night upon a dangerous bank at the mouth of the river Hoogley, where Sir Stamford was obliged to remain until boats were sent from Calcutta to take him out of the vessel.

Sir Stamford found that the measures which he adopted in Sumatra, in particular the general protest which he had made against the Netherlands' authority on the occasion of its interference at Palembang, had attracted the atten-

tion of the Governor-General in Council: and as the Netherlands' Government had submitted to the same authority its appeal against the part which he had taken, the question was fairly before the Bengal Government. Fortunately the Government of Prince of Wales' Island had at length, on the transfer of Malacca to the Dutch, been awakened to the dangerous consequences which must have ensued to the interests of that Island, and the eastern trade generally; and their representations had the effect of corroborating and confirming all Sir Stamford's previous apprehensions and statements.

Having thus succeeded in bringing the subject fully before a higher and competent authority, and having convinced that authority of the necessity of adopting some defined line of policy for the protection of those interests, he had the satisfaction to find that at length their nature and importance were justly appreciated; and the measures which he had previously adopted, however they might be regretted as occasioning collision with the Netherlands' Government, were pronounced "to have been dictated by the purest spirit of patriotism, and to have been such that, in the circumstances in which he was placed, he could not well have acted otherwise."

It is not necessary, and perhaps it might be improper, to advert to the grounds on which the Governor-General resolved upon the line of policy which was subsequently adopted. It is sufficient to state, that it was determined, under existing circumstances, to concede to the Dutch

their pretensions in Sumatra; and to limit the interference to measures of precaution, by securing a free trade with the Archipelago and China through the Straits of Malacca, leaving to the Dutch the exclusive command of the Straits of Sunda. In order to effect this, and at the same time to protect the political and commercial interests in the Eastern Seas generally, it was essential that some central station should be occupied within the Archipelago, and to the southward of Malacca; and Sir Stamford was appointed Agent to the Governor-General to effect this important object, if practicable, and generally to assume charge of the British interests to the eastward of the Straits of Malacca.

Sir Stamford wrote to Mr. Marsden on these subjects.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ.

"*Calcutta, October* 16, 1818.

"My dear Sir,

"You will be happy to hear that I have made my peace with the Marquess of Hastings, and that his Lordship has at last acknowledged my exertions in Java in flattering terms. This was one object of my visit to Calcutta, and on it depended, in a great measure, the success of the others. I am now struggling hard to interest the Supreme Government in the Eastern Islands; and the measures taken by me at Palembang, &c., will, I doubt not, lead to the advantage of some defined line of policy being laid down for the future. With regard to

the Dutch proceedings at Palembang, of which I hope you are, ere this, fully apprised, Lord Hastings has unequivocally declared, that his mind is made up as to the moral turpitude of the transaction, and that he considers this but as one of a course of measures directed in hostility to the British interests and name in the Eastern Seas. My despatches are now under consideration, and it is uncertain what may be the immediate result. There is but one opinion in regard to the manner in which our interests have been sacrificed by the transfer of Java, &c., and it is clear that the government at home will be called upon from hence to interfere for the security of our trade; but in the mean time, and pending the reference to Europe, I fear that nothing decisive will be done. Lord Hastings is, I know, inclined to recommend our exchanging Bencoolen for Malacca, and to make the equator the limit.

* * * * *

"Lady Raffles has accompanied me—she is quite well, but finds the climate very different from that of our Eastern Isles—the heat has been extremely oppressive, and the whole of India very sickly—it is computed that not less than two millions have fallen a sacrifice to what is here called the *cholera morbus*. Our kindest regards.

"Marco Polo has not yet appeared in this part of the world.

"I have just received your kind letter, written on Christmas day last, for which accept my best thanks—on my return to Bencoolen I shall no doubt find a large

collection of English letters. I hope to be there in January."

Although Sir Stamford did not succeed in his endeavours to induce the Bengal Government to adopt all his views regarding Sumatra, his presence in Calcutta created a general interest, and turned the attention of the merchants, as well as that of the government, towards the progress of the Dutch power, and the probable total destruction of the English trade, if some strong efforts were not made. If the moment was then allowed to pass away, the time would be over when any thing could be done: the two only passages to the Eastern Archipelago secured by the Dutch, nothing but actual force would obtain for the British trader ingress to its thousand Isles. In his own words, he neither wanted people nor territory; all he asked was, permission to anchor a line-of-battle ship, and hoist the English flag, at the mouth either of the Straits of Malacca or of Sunda; and the trade of England would be secured, the monopoly of the Dutch broken.

Lord Hastings was convinced; and the occupation of Singapore was the consequence. Even before he left England, Sir Stamford contemplated this, to him, classical spot as a place favourably situated to become a British station. Mr. Crawfurd has inadvertently given, in his account of the mission to Siam, an erroneous statement of the establishment of this settlement; the Carimons, which he describes as the original object of Sir Stamford's selec-

tion, being the plan, in fact, of Colonel Farquhar, while Resident at Malacca, and not of Sir Stamford, who surveyed them out of courtesy only to that officer.

Whilst still engaged at Calcutta, in endeavouring to secure the concurrence of the Supreme Government in his designs, he addressed letters to several friends, of which the following are extracts.

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Calcutta, November 26th*, 1818.

"I have now accomplished the principal object of my visit to Bengal, and purpose embarking once more in the course of four or five days, for the Eastern Islands, which, I doubt not, I shall find as fresh and as blooming as ever. I yet hope to be in time to do something for the public good; but the policy of the Dutch, and the unreserved terms of the convention, preclude me from being very sanguine.

"My own health remains much the same as when I left England, and Lady Raffles is, if any thing, better. Do you not pity poor Lady Raffles, and think me very hard-hearted to drag her about in her present state?—but she will not remain from me, and what can I do? We are now above three months without any news of our dear baby, so that you see we have our minor as well as major separations.

"I have begged of Lady Raffles to give your Grace an account of the *regal state* of the Governor-General, which really exceeds all I had heard of it.

"I take down from hence a medical man of the name of *Jack*, who will be entrusted with the botanical part of my researches; and I have two Frenchmen, M. Diard and M. Duvausel, the former the pupil, and the latter the step-son of Cuvier; so that in comparative anatomy I shall be strong. These three *savans*, with a missionary clergyman, who takes charge of a printing-press, form my equipment from Calcutta, so that I hope we may do something.

"I have at last succeeded in making the authorities in Bengal sensible of their supineness in allowing the Dutch to exclude us from the Eastern Seas; but I fear it is now too late to retrieve what we have lost. I have full powers to do all we can; and if anything is to be done, I think I need not assure your Grace that it shall be done—and quickly done."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Calcutta, December 10th*, 1818.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am not certain whether, while in England, I mentioned to you a discovery which I thought I had made of the *Tapir* in the Malay countries.

"On my arrival at Penang in 1805, it was represented to me that a short time before, in the government of Sir George Leith, an animal in every respect the model of an elephant, but of diminutive size, had been brought from Queda; the animal had unfortunately died while Sir

George was on the hill, and the servants threw the body into the sea.

"I subsequently visited Malacca, and made particular inquiries for an animal of this description; and from the information I received there, I had little doubt in my mind but the animal in question was rather the *tapir* than the elephant, and on showing the drawing of the former to the natives, they seemed at once to recognize it.

"The result of further inquiries has been conclusive on this head, and I now have the satisfaction to assure you that the animal exists, not only on the Peninsula, but in Sumatra. The head of one obtained in Malacca is now deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta; and a living tapir, from Sumatra, is now in the Governor-General's park at Barrackpore.

"By the hands of Mr. Holton I send you a correct drawing of the Sumatran animal. It is the most docile creature I ever met with, and is more like the hog than any other animal to which I can compare it."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Nearchus, off the Sandheads, Dec. 12th,* 1818.

"My dear Sir,

* * * * *

"We are now on our way to the eastward, in the hope of doing something, but I much fear the Dutch have hardly left us an inch of ground to stand upon. My attention is principally turned to Johore, and you must

not be surprised if my next letter to you is dated from the site of the ancient city of Singapura.

"Yours, &c.

"T. S. RAFFLES."

With his usual foresight, knowing that his present objects required a military force, and fearing that he should not obtain any assistance from the government of Penang, Sir Stamford wrote from the Sandheads, at the mouth of the Ganges, to the officer commanding the troops at Bencoolen, which were about to be relieved, and requested him to come round by the Straits of Sunda, where a vessel should meet him with instructions.

"*Penang, Jan. 16th*, 1819.

"*Me voici à Pulo Penang*. God only knows where next you may hear from me, but as you will be happy to learn the progress of my mission, I will not lose the present opportunity of informing you how I go on. In the first place, I have to complain most bitterly of * *

"Whether anything is to be done to the eastward or not, is yet very uncertain. By neglecting to occupy the place we lost Rhio, and shall have difficulty in establishing ourselves elsewhere, but I shall certainly attempt it.

"At Acheen, the difficulties I shall have to surmount in the performance of my duty will be great, and the annoyance severe, but I shall persevere steadily in what I conceive to be my duty. I think I may rely on the Mar-

quess; his last words were,—'Sir Stamford, you may depend upon me.'

"Sophia will remain at Penang, while I visit Acheen.

"Yours, &c.

"T. S. RAFFLES."

Of the delicacy and difficulties of the trust confided to Sir Stamford, some idea may be formed, when it is considered, that before he had reached Penang, on his way to the eastward, the government of that settlement had failed in an attempt to acquire such a station, had declared its conviction that the period had passed in which any such station could be obtained within the Archipelago, and on his arrival protested in the strongest manner, and exercised its power and influence in every possible way, against his proceeding towards the attainment of the important object intrusted to him; while the Dutch authorities, having, as they thought, already succeeded in occupying every station, had not hesitated to declare their supremacy over the whole Archipelago, and to publish their prohibitory regulations for the exclusion of British commerce, and the exercise of their own sovereignty throughout the Eastern Seas.

Sir Stamford, determined to accomplish the duty intrusted to him, proceeded in person down the Straits of Malacca, and in ten days after quitting Penang hoisted the British flag, on the 29th of February, 1819, at Singapore, as he had anticipated upon leaving Bengal. The

commanding situation of this settlement embraced all the objects which he expected and desired.

Sir Stamford conceived it of primary importance to obtain a post which should have a commanding geographical position at the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca, which should be in the track of the China and country traders, which should be capable of affording them protection, and of supplying their wants; which should possess capabilities of defence by a moderate force; which might give the means of supporting and defending the commercial intercourse with the Malay states; and which, by its contiguity to the seat of the Dutch power, might afford an opportunity to watch the march of its policy, and, when necessary, to counteract its influence.

The occupation of this station proved to the varied and enterprising population of the Archipelago, that the power and commerce of the British nation had not entirely sunk under the encroachments of the Dutch; and it also proved a determination to make a stand against them, and to maintain the right of free commerce with the Malay states.

Independently of the tribes of the Archipelago, the situation of Singapore is peculiarly favourable for its becoming the entrepot to which the native mariners of Siam, Camboja, Chiampa, Cochin China, and China itself, may annually resort. It is to the Straits of Singapore that their merchants are always bound, in the first instance; and if, on their arrival in them, they find a

market for their goods, and the means of supplying their wants, they have no inducement to proceed to the more distant, unhealthy, and expensive port of Batavia.

The passage from China can be made in less than six days, and the same time is all that is required, in the favourable monsoon, for the passage from Batavia, the coast of Borneo, and Penang.

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Singapore, Jan.* 31, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Here I am, true to my word, and in the enjoyment of all the pleasure which a footing on such classic ground must inspire. The lines of the old city, and of its defences, are still to be traced, and within its ramparts the British Union waves unmolested.

"Singapore is every thing we could desire, it will soon rise into importance; and with this single station I would undertake to counteract all the plans of Mynheer; it breaks the spell; and they are no longer the exclusive sovereigns of the Eastern Seas.

"Sophia is, I am happy to say, quite well; she is now devoting a great deal of her time to botany, and so far from finding it hang heavy on her hands, she is constantly complaining that the days are too short.

* * * * *

"This place possesses an excellent harbour, and every thing that can be desired for a British port in the island

of St. John's, which forms the south-western point of the harbour. We have commanded an intercourse with all the ships passing through the Straits of Singapore. We are within a week's sail of China, close to Siam, and in the very seat of the Malayan empire. This, therefore, will probably be my last attempt. If I am deserted now, I must fain return to Bencoolen, and become philosopher.

"We are making very considerable collections in natural history; and if the political arrangements, which I now contemplate, are adopted and confirmed, we shall have it in our power to do a good deal in every department. We find more work than can be accomplished by six draftsmen employed from eight o'clock till four.

"I expect to conclude all my arrangements at this place in the course of a few days, and then to return to Penang, where I have left Lady Raffles, and my anxiety to get there, on her account, is very great. From Penang my course will probably bend towards Acheen, where I have to establish the British influence on a permanent footing; from thence I shall proceed to Bencoolen.

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Penang, Feb.* 22, 1819.

"I am afraid your Grace will already have been tired out by the accounts I have, from time to time, given you of my rambling life; it seems that I am never to be settled for any time, never to enjoy that rest and repose which the heart so much longs for.

"From Calcutta I came to this island, and from hence proceeded to the further east, down the Straits of Malacca. I have scarcely returned a week, and am now bound to Acheen, whence I shall again return to this place, and proceed round the eastern and southern coast of Sumatra to Bencoolen. Nearly six months have now elapsed since we left our dear baby there, and we have scarcely heard of her since; two or three months more must pass before our arrival, and in the interim what important events take place! Among these I must mention Lady Raffles' expected confinement, an event which we daily look for; this you will admit is a domestic event of no small importance. I have also to communicate to you a political event of great import, namely, the accomplishment of the great object which I have always had in view, by forming a permanent British establishment in the Malayan Archipelago, by which the progress of the Dutch supremacy may be checked, and our interests, political and commercial, secured.

"It has been my good fortune to establish this station in a position combining every possible advantage, geographical and local; and if I only meet with ordinary support from the higher powers, I shall effectually check the plans of the Dutch.

* * * * *

"I must, however, tell you where you are to look for it in the map. Follow me from Calcutta, within the Nicobar and Andaman Islands, to Prince of Wales' Island, then

accompany me down the Straits of Malacca, past the town of Malacca, and round the south-western point of the Peninsula. You will then enter what are called the Straits of Singapore, and in Marsden's map of Sumatra you will observe an island to the north of these straits called Singapura; this is the spot, the site of the ancient maritime capital of the Malays, and within the walls of these fortifications, raised not less than six centuries ago, on which I have planted the British flag, where, I trust, it will long triumphantly wave.

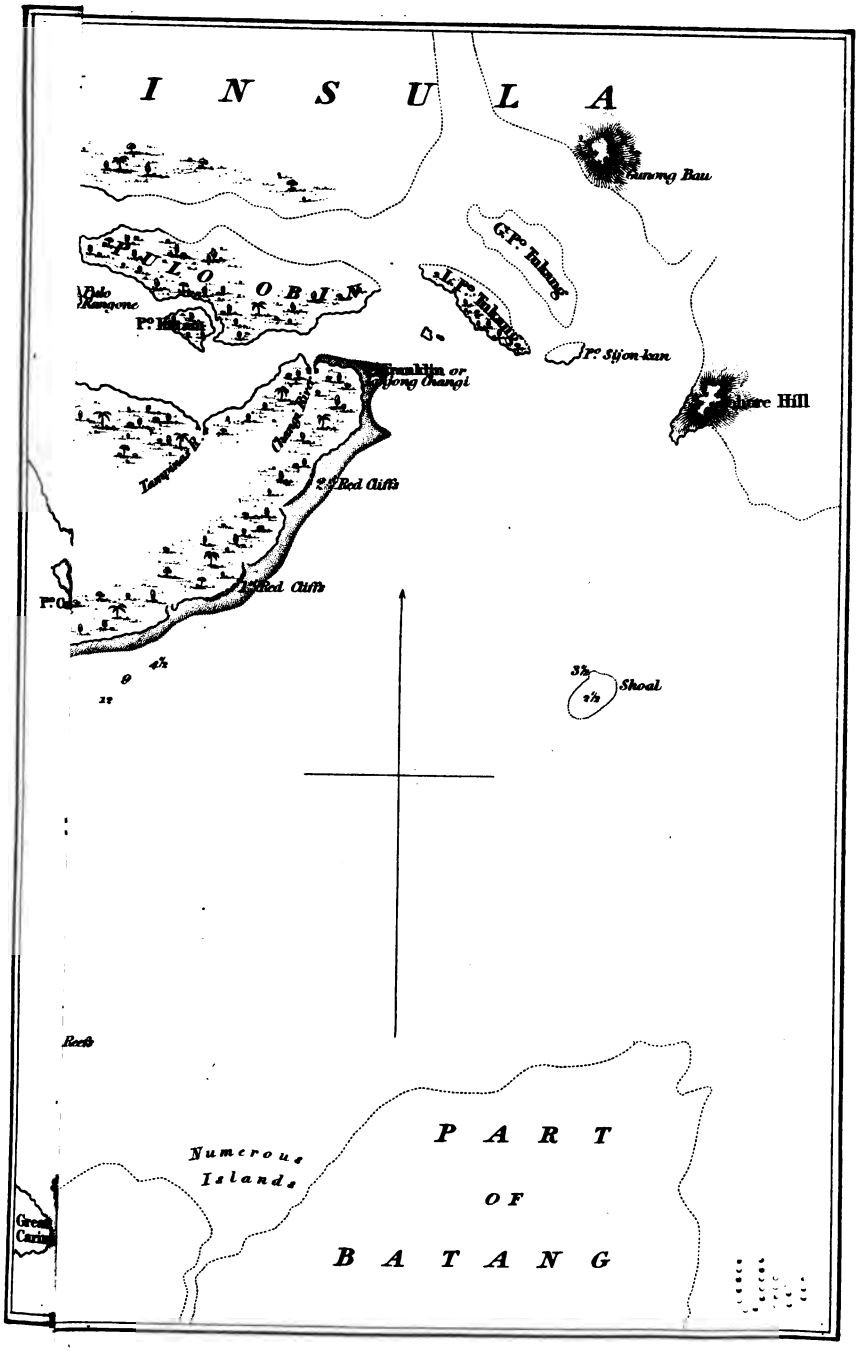
* * * * *

"Almost all that I attempted in Sumatra has been destroyed, from a delicacy to the Dutch; if this last effort for securing our interests also fails, I must be content to quit politics and turn philosopher.

* * * * *

"Your Grace would, I think, be amused, were you to overlook our present occupations. Were it not for the Dutch, I should have little in politics to interest me, and as it is, I should have much leisure if I did not devote my time to natural history, in which we are daily making very important discoveries: the lower part of our house, at this moment, is more like the menagerie at Exeter Change than the residence of a gentleman. Fish, flesh, and fowl, alike contribute to the collection; and above stairs the rooms are variously ornamented with branches and flowers, rendering them so many arbours. There are no less than five draftsmen constantly employed, and with all

ORE.


I N S U L A
Gunung Bau
G.P.o Tulang
I.P.o Tulang Kecil
P.o Sijon-loan
Point Hill
Red Cliffs
Red Cliffs
Shoal
Reefs
P A R T
O F
B A T A N G
Numerous Islands

our diligence we can hardly keep pace with the new acquisitions which are daily made. I can assure your Grace that, while directing these various departments, we often think of the days that are to come, when quietly in Park Lane, or in the country, I may attempt to display to your domestic circle some of the riches and beauties with which nature has adorned these islands; but when will that day come? A year has nearly elapsed since we landed on Indian ground: that year has not been spent in idleness; but yet I must look through three or four more still longer years before I think of home; would that they were past too!

* * * * *

"T. S. RAFFLES."

The duty which Sir Stamford had to perform at Acheen involved him in much trouble and discussion. The point to be decided was the right to the crown. A native merchant settled at Penang had endeavoured to establish a claim to it, which was not a little strengthened by his command of wealth *. So much intrigue, trouble, and difficulty attended the arrangement of this disputed point, that Sir Stamford was absent three months. When the business was settled he returned to Penang, but he only remained a few days, and proceeded again to Singapore,

* This was the only instance in which a bribe was offered to the Editor: a casket of diamonds was presented, and it seemed to create much surprise that it was not even looked at.

where he was most agreeably occupied for some time, in marking out the future town, and giving instructions to Colonel Farquhar for the arrangement and management of his new colony.

The following are extracts from letters written at this time from Singapore:—

TO COLONEL ADDENBROOKE, LATE EQUERRY TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.

"*Singapore, June 10th*, 1819.

"My dear Colonel,

"You will probably have to consult the map in order to ascertain from what part of the world this letter is dated.

* * * * *

"I shall say nothing of the importance which I attach to the permanence of the position I have taken up at Singapore; it is a child of my own. But for my Malay studies I should hardly have known that such a place existed; not only the European, but the Indian world was also ignorant of it.

* * * * *

"I am sure you will wish me success; and I will therefore only add, that if my plans are confirmed at home, it is my intention to make this my principal residence, and to devote the remaining years of my stay in the East to the advancement of a colony which, in every way in which it can be viewed, bids fair to be one of the most important,

and at the same time, one of the least expensive and troublesome, which we possess. Our object is not territory, but trade; a great commercial emporium, and a *fulcrum*, whence we may extend our influence politically as circumstances may hereafter require. By taking immediate possession, we put a *negative* to the Dutch claim of exclusion, and at the same time revive the drooping confidence of our allies and friends. One free port in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly; and what *Malta* is in the West, that may *Singapore* become in the East.

"I shall leave this for Bencoolen in a few days, where I hope to remain quietly until we hear decidedly from Europe; at all events I am not likely to quit Sumatra again for some months, and then only for a short period to revisit my new settlement.

"You may judge of our anxiety to return to Bencoolen, when I tell you that we left our little girl there in August last, and have not since seen her. Lady Raffles, who accompanied me to Bengal, and is now with me, has since presented me with a son. The circumstances preceding his birth were not very propitious. I was obliged to quit her only four days before the event; we were almost amongst strangers, no nurse in whom to confide, no experienced medical aid: for we had expected to reach Bencoolen in time. And yet all went on well; and a finer babe, or one with more promise of intelligence, never was beheld. You will recollect that our little girl was born on

the wave, under circumstances not more promising, and yet no mother and no children could have suffered less! What strange and mysterious dispensations of Providence! When I think of Claremont, and all the prospects which were there anticipated—but I must check my pen.

"I thank you most sincerely for your letters of the 8th of December, 1817, and 29th of April, 1819: the former I could never acknowledge till now, the latter is before me, and I cannot express how much I feel indebted to you for your kind and affectionate attention. The engravings I have duly received, one of them in particular is dear to me from many associations; it is from the painting which I so often admired in the drawing-room.

"Your account of our amiable and invaluable Prince has given me the greatest satisfaction. He has indeed had his trials: my heart overflows when I think of him and of his sufferings; and though far removed and separated from the passing scene, be assured I listen with no common interest to all that is said of and about him.

"I have told you that Lady Raffles has presented me with a son and a daughter: from the circumstance of the latter having been born on the voyage, the Javans, who are a poetic people, wished her to be named *Tunjung Segara*, meaning lotos of the sea; and a more appropriate name for purity or innocence could not have been conceived. I gratified their wish, but at the same time my own, by prefixing a more Christian and a more consecrated

name, "Charlotte." My son has been christened Leopold; and thus will *Leopold and Charlotte* be commemorated in my domestic circle as names ever dear and ever respected; and that of my daughter, while associated with the emblem of purity, handed down in remembrance of one whose virtues will never be forgotten.

"I must not close this letter without giving you some account of my occupations and views, as far as they are of a personal nature: I am vain enough to hope that these will interest you more than all I could write of a public or political nature.

"Notwithstanding the serious demands on my time, arising out of my public station, and the discussions I have naturally had with the Dutch authorities, I have been able to advance very considerably in my collection in natural history. Sumatra does not afford any of those interesting remains of former civilization, and of the arts which abound in Java; here man is far behind-hand, perhaps a thousand years, even behind his neighbour the Javan; but we have more originality, and the great volume of nature has hardly been opened. I was extremely unfortunate in the death of Dr. Arnold, who accompanied me as a naturalist from England: he fell a sacrifice to his zealous and indefatigable exertions in the first journey which he made into the interior; but not until he had immortalized his name by the discovery of one of the greatest prodigies in nature which has yet been met with, a flower of great beauty, but more remarkable for its dimensions; it measures a full

yard across, weighs fifteen pounds, and contains in the nectary no less than eight pints, each petal being eleven inches in breadth, and there being five of them. I sent a short description of this plant, with a drawing, and part of the flower itself, to Sir Joseph Banks, from whom, or some of the members of the Royal Society, you may probably have heard more particulars. I have now with me, as a botanist, Dr. Jack, a gentleman highly qualified; and we are daily making very important additions to our herbarium. We have recently discovered at this place some very beautiful species of the *Nepenthes*, or pitcher plant, which in elegance and brilliancy, far surpass anything I have yet seen in this quarter: the plant is very remarkable, and though the genus has been generally described but little is known of the different species. We are now engaged in making drawings of them, and with a few other of the most remarkable and splendid productions of the vegetable world which we have met with, propose forming them into a volume, to be engraved in Europe. This will be an *earnest* of what we propose to do hereafter; and you will oblige me much by informing me whether His Royal Highness would have any objection to their being dedicated to him: there will not be above six or eight engravings, but they will be on a large scale.

"Besides our botanical pursuits, I have in my family two French naturalists, one of them step-son to the celebrated Cuvier; their attention is principally directed to zoology, but we include in our researches everything that

is interesting in the mineral kingdom. Our collection of birds is already very extensive, and in the course of two or three years we hope to complete our more important researches in Sumatra. We shall endeavour to include the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, and wherever the *Dutch*, who are the *Vandals* of the East, do not establish themselves to our exclusion. I hope the plants, &c. by Dr. Horsfield reached Claremont in safety and tolerable preservation.

"On the west coast of Sumatra we abound in great varieties of corallines and madrapores, but few of these are known in England, and collections are rare; I am preparing a few for Claremont, and shall be happy to hear from you if they are likely to be acceptable, or what would be more so.

"I beg of you to present my respects to Prince Leopold, with every assurance of deep regard, affection and esteem, which it may be respectful for me to offer.

"To the Duke of Kent I will thank you also to present my respects, and my congratulations on his marriage.

* * * * * *

"Allow me to add my kindest remembrances to Sir Robert Gardiner, the Baron, and Dr. Stockman, and to assure you, my dear friend, that I am with sincerity and truth,

Your obliged and very faithfully attached friend,

"T. S. R*."

*The beautiful plant alluded to in the foregoing letter has been named *Nepenthes Rafflesiana*, and has since been engraved by Mr.

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*Singapore, June* 17, 1819.

"Our friend Dr. Jack will keep you so regularly informed of our proceedings, that I shall not attempt to give you any account of our collections and discoveries. You will be happy to hear that we are at last on the wing for Bencoolen, where we shall commence operations on a more determined plan. We have, however, no right to complain, and Singapore would have recompensed all our pains, had we found in it nothing but the new species of *Nepenthes*, which are splendid beyond description, and for novelty, size, and effect, certainly rank amongst the beauties of the East."

TO HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Singapore, June* 11*th*, 1819.

"We are, at last, on our return home, and hope to leave this for Bencoolen in about a week. Poor Lady Raffles! do you not pity her, to have been so long separated from her little girl, at such an interesting age, and to have been again confined among strangers, and with no one about her in whom she could confide?

"To add to our misfortunes, I was myself compelled to leave her only four days before the event. On my return, however, to Penang, I found her quite well, and one of the most beautiful boys that eyes ever beheld. Both

Lambert, whose liberality in patronising any new discovery in his favourite science is well known.

have done well ever since, and all are in doubt which is the most beautiful, Leopold or his sister Charlotte: he is three months old this day. Our troubles are not yet quite over, as we have a sea voyage of at least a month before us.

"My new colony thrives most rapidly. We have not been established four months, and it has received an accession of population exceeding five thousand, principally Chinese, and their number is daily increasing.

"It is not necessary for me to say how much interested I am in the success of the place; it is a child of my own, and I have made it what it is. You may easily conceive with what zeal I apply myself to the clearing of forests, cutting of roads, building of towns, framing of laws, &c. &c.

"T. S. RAFFLES."

TO ————.

"*Singapore, June 15th*, 1819.

"I am happy to inform you that everything is going on well here. It bids fair to be the next port to Calcutta; all we want now is, the certainty of permanent possession, and this, of course, depends on authorities beyond our control. You may take my word for it, this is by far the most important station in the East; and, as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of much higher value than whole continents of territory.

"Sophia and young Leopold are in high health and

spirits: our darling girl is running about and talking, but it is now eight months since we saw her. What an age!"

TO W. MARSDEN, ESQ.

"*Singapore, June 11th*, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,

* * * * *

"I am now about to return to Bencoolen by the way of the Straits of Sunda, after an absence of nine months, three of which were spent at Acheen. At some future period I hope to give you an account of the information collected at the last-mentioned place. Our political negociations were eventually successful, and although I had much anxiety and annoyance, I have no reason to regret my employment on the mission. Our government were nearly committed on the worst side of a very troublesome question; and it required no common degree of assiduity and perseverance to persuade authorities, who had previously declared opinions, that they were wrong. My colleague, Captain Coombs, however, at last saw the question in the same light in which it always appeared to me, and we had the satisfaction to conclude a treaty with the legitimate sovereign, by which all our objects were obtained, without the necessity of involving ourselves in any way. I have sent a copy of our report to Mr. ——, and you will oblige me by perusing it when at leisure; it is not very long, considering the voluminous nature of our

detached proceedings, which occupy upwards of one thousand pages.

* * * * *

"The most important discoveries we made is the existence of extensive teak forests near the northern coasts, and the general prevalence of mutilated Hindu images in the interior: of the former I obtained specimen branches of the trees, and undoubted evidence; and of the latter, the accounts given were of a nature which left little doubt in my mind with regard to the fact: I have set farther inquiries on foot, and in the course of time I hope to obtain much interesting information on this subject. I have obtained several copies of their annals, and much information regarding their constitution and customs, but I have not time at this moment to enter on the subject. Their line of Mahomedan kings appears to have commenced in 601 of the Hegira, and from that period until the reign of Secunder Muda, or Macota Alem as he is more generally called, Acheen is said to have been tributary to Rum; it then obtained Maaf, or exemption from tribute. The crown and regalia appear to have been brought from Rum shortly after the establishment of Islamism, and I think it probable that Acheen was the first and most important footing obtained by the Mahomedans to the eastward, and whence their religion was subsequently disseminated among the Islands.

"There is a fine harbour on the northern side of Pulo Way, the best in the Achenese dominions, and until this

period unknown to Europeans. It will be long, I fear, before Acheen will be restored to a state of complete tranquillity and confidence. * * * *

TO SIR ROBERT HARRY INGLIS.

"*Singapore, June 12th*, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"It is now nearly nine months since I left Bencoolen for Bengal, and during the whole of this period, as well as previously, my mind and time have been so continually devoted to the pressing and embarrassing duties of the responsible situations in which I have been placed, that the more satisfactory and comfortable duties of private friendship have necessarily been too often neglected. Among these I accuse myself of not having written to you, and I trust in your kindness to admit this general excuse as a sufficient apology.

"From the warm and kind interest you take in all that concerns us, I am sure you will hear with pleasure that both Lady Raffles and myself have in general continued to enjoy the blessing of health, and that we are the happy parents of two most lovely children: our little girl was born at sea, on the passage out; the boy at Penang, about three months ago: on both occasions the circumstances in which Lady Raffles was placed were very distressing. It is easy to conceive the anxiety and privations attending such an event on board ship; and at Penang, independently of our not being in the least pre-

pared with a nurse or otherwise, I was myself compelled to leave her only four days before the event took place. All, however, has gone on well, and we are truly thankful to the Great Author and Disposer of all events, for the mercies and blessings we enjoy.

"I know not how I can better fulfil my promise to you, than by giving you a general, but, as it must necessarily be, a hasty account of my proceedings, plans, and prospects, since I left England. I will endeavour to do this in as few words as possible, but it must be without order or arrangement. I will begin with Bencoolen, and the immediate interests of that settlement.

"Before I left England I was prepared for the necessity of very essential changes in the mode of management. The encouragement given to slavery, gaming, and other vices, and the system of forced services, and deliveries at inadequate rates, appeared to me incompatible with the general principles of good government, and inconsistent with the character which the British nation has latterly assumed.

"I accordingly endeavoured to procure an authority for reforming these evils; and although I did not succeed to the extent I wished, I believe an impression was made on some of the more enlightened of the Directors, and on the President of the Board of Control (Mr. Canning), that some change was necessary and indispensable. Under these circumstances I assumed the charge of the settlement, and a more reduced and wretched place than I found can-

not well be conceived; recent neglect, and an awful visitation of Providence, had contributed to render the scene even more miserable than it might otherwise have been; but under any circumstances, Bencoolen would have struck me as more insignificant and unimportant than any one of the twenty-two Residencies lately under my authority as Lieutenant-Governor of Java.

"The natural disadvantages of the place are so great, and the effects of misrule so deeply and extensively felt, that whilst I had every inclination to commence a new order of things, I was not very sanguine in the result; the country had already been too far impoverished and destroyed, the people too long deprived of all motive for energy and improvement, and the coast too long abandoned by the native trader, and too inhospitable to invite his return. In this state, I had to determine whether I would undertake the thankless office of reformer, without the means of showing any immediate advantage, or continue in the course of my predecessors, and eat the bread of idleness. My decision was in favour of the former, and among the first acts which I had the satisfaction to perform, were the emancipation of three hundred slaves belonging to the Company, and the abolition of the gaming and cock-fighting farms, whence the principal local revenues had previously been derived.

"These and other changes declaratory of the new system of government which was about to take place, only paved the way to more essential changes; and before I

proceeded to Bengal, the system of forced services and deliveries was abolished, new agreements entered into with the Chiefs, the courts of justice regulated on some fixed principle, and an active police established. All has been quiet since, and on my return to Bencoolen; the experience of the last twelve months will afford some data on the eventual effects.

* * * * *

"Lady Raffles accompanied me on this as well as on my subsequent journey to Menangkabu, and you may form some idea of the fatigue we underwent when I tell you, that for the three days we had to pass in the forest and mountains, the paths were so narrow and precipitous, that it was absolutely impossible to relieve her from the fatigue of walking, except by occasionally carrying her for half an hour on a man's shoulders. We walked from before daylight, sometimes till nine at night, and then we had to prepare our leafy dwelling from the branches of the surrounding trees. We carried a cot and bedding with us, but sometimes this did not come up; and I had to select the smoothest stone from the river to serve as a pillow.

"Every thing having succeeded at Pasumah to my wishes, a treaty of friendship and alliance was entered into, and we returned to Manna by a different route, though with equal fatigue and danger. Manna is situated about eighty miles from Bencoolen; to this place we had proceeded in a buggy along the sands in a journey of two days. We then continued our route southward as far

as Cawoor, keeping the sea-shore, and proceeding on horseback; the distance about forty miles.

"On our return to Bencoolen, which was accomplished by the 4th of June, new cares commenced. A Commissioner, with a party of troops, had arrived in a Dutch frigate, for the purpose of taking charge of Padang, by far the most important, and indeed the only valuable station on the west coast of Sumatra.

"I had previously written to the Governor-General of Batavia, that there was an outstanding account between the two governments to the amount of 170,000 dollars, incurred by the British Government on the faith of its being repaid by the Dutch, whenever the place might be transferred, and according to the terms of the capitulation of the place, I had requested His Excellency would depute some person to examine the accounts, and give me some acknowledgment before the actual transfer. I accordingly called on the Commissioner for adjustment, but to my surprise, he informed me, that he had explicit orders not to enter upon any discussion of the kind; that it was his duty first to hoist the Dutch flag; and that afterwards the subject might be considered. As we had woful experience of such a procedure in Java, where after we had once allowed them to hoist their flag, they treated all our claims with indifference and disregard, I was satisfied that unless we had some acknowledgment of this debt before the actual transfer, and while the English flag remained, the amount would be irrecoverably lost,

and the subsequent claims laughed at; I therefore persisted in my demand, and the result was the return of the Commissioner to Batavia, for further orders. The Dutch government refused to waive the point. I remained resolute; and the discussion ended in a reference to Bengal. In the mean time I was anxious to make myself acquainted with Padang, but more so to attempt a visit to Menangkabu, the ancient capital of the Malayan empire, of which Europeans in these seas had heard so much, but which no European had yet seen. The difficulties which were opposed far exceeded those we had met with at Pasumah, but determined to overcome them, we accomplished our object, and during a journey of fifteen days, principally on foot, we passed over a distance of, at least, 250 miles, which no European foot had before trodden, crossing mountains not less than 5000 feet in elevation; sometimes whole days along the course of rapid torrents, on others, in highly-cultivated plains, and throughout the whole, in a country in the highest degree interesting. We here found the wreck of a great empire hardly known to us but by name, and the evident source whence all the Malayan colonies now scattered along the coasts of the Archipelago first sprung, a population of between one and two millions, a cultivation highly advanced, and manners, customs, and productions in a great degree new and undescribed. I can hardly describe to you the delight with which I first entered the rich and populous country of Menangkabu, and discovered, after four days' journey

through the mountains and forests, this great source of interest and wealth. To me it was quite classical ground, and had I found nothing more than the ruins of an ancient city, I should have felt repaid for the journey; but when, in addition to this, I found so extensive a population, so fertile a country, and so admirable a post whence to commence and effect the civilization of Sumatra, the sensation was of a nature that does not admit of description. Instead of jealousy and distrust on the part of the natives, they received us with the utmost hospitality, and though their manners were rude, and sometimes annoying, it was impossible to misunderstand their intentions, which were most friendly. They had but one request, namely, that I would not allow the Dutch to come to Padang—'for the twenty-three years that the place had been in our possession, great changes had taken place, new interests had arisen, children then unborn had become men, and those who had been friends to the Dutch were now no more.' I pacified them by receiving an address, which they wrote in public to the King of England, soliciting his attention to their interests, and as I found, on subsequent inquiry, that the Dutch influence had never extended inland beyond the mountains, but had been expressly limited to the western side of them, I did not hesitate to enter into a conditional treaty of friendship and alliance with the Sultan of Menangkabu, as the lord-paramount of all the Malay countries, subject, of course, to the approval of Lord Hastings.

"The state of agriculture in the Menangkabu country is far higher than I expected to find it; not in any respect inferior to what it is in Java, and in some respects superior. Water-wheels and sugar-presses being common throughout Menangkabu, while they are almost unknown in Java, shows that in this point of view they are at least equal. In manners and civilization, however, they are very far behindhand. Some traces of a former higher state of civilization are discernible, but in general the people are little beyond what they are found to be in other parts of Sumatra. The Sovereign of Menangkabu has little or no authority, and the population seem to have relapsed into the ancient divisions of tribes so general throughout Sumatra.

"I come now to another period in the history of these Islands. In the year 1811 we conquered Java, the seat of the Dutch Government, and from that time became supreme over the East as well as the West of India.

"The instructions of Lord Minto, which authorized the conquest, directed, that after dismantling the fortifications, the country should be given up in independence to the native Chiefs. Holland at that time did not exist as a nation, and the prospect of transferring Java to France was not to be contemplated. The humane and benevolent mind of Lord Minto revolted at the idea of suddenly transferring back to the natives a colony which had been in possession of the European authority for two centuries. If such a policy were to be pursued, he conceived that it ought to

be gradual; and while he took upon himself the responsibility of suspending, pending the reference to Europe, the rigid enforcement of the orders he had received, he did not hesitate to say that he had done so, and publicly to assure the natives that they would, in the mean time, be allowed every degree of rational liberty and independence consistent with the safety of the provisional government he had established.

"On this principle was my government regulated: and you may judge with what surprise we received a copy of the convention for the unconditional transfer of the country to the Dutch, *as the first and only communication from Europe.* The Dutch no sooner obtained possession, than it became an object with them to lower the character of the British provisional administration, to displace those in whom we had confidence, and to obliterate, as far as possible all recollection of our rule. * * *

"Of this I do not complain; if our ministers, in the zenith of their magnanimity, chose to sacrifice the interests of five millions of people, and to cast them aside without notice or remembrance, it was not, perhaps, to be expected from the Dutch that they should be very nice. Gratitude is not among the list of national virtues; it is, perhaps, inconsistent with them; at least it is at variance with national pride and vanity.

"I did intend in this letter, to have entered at some length into other subjects, which have attracted my attention since my return to India, but it is so unreasonably

long, that I must bring it to a close, with an apology for the extreme haste and inaccuracy with which it is written, and for taking up so much of your time on subjects which are probably of little interest to you.

"You will have heard, that shortly after my arrival at Bencoolen, I had the satisfaction to establish a Bible Society. This was followed by the establishment of schools, and recently, on the visit of the Bishop of Calcutta to Penang, we formed a District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, entitled the Prince of Wales' Island and Fort Marlborough Committee.

"I have now with me, on board the ship on which I proceed to Bencoolen, a printing-press, with types in the Roman and native characters, and have just granted permission to the Extra Ganges Mission to establish a college at Singapore, for the study of the Chinese language, and the extension of Christianity.

"The state of Society, even among the Europeans at Bencoolen, was very bad on my arrival. I trust it is improving. An instance has occurred which will, I hope, impress upon the higher authorities the necessity of attending more closely to the religious and moral character of their establishments.

"I am afraid the progress towards improvement will be slow. I hope it will be sure, and, as soon as I can give you a good account, you may rely upon hearing from me. I did intend to write to Mr. Wilberforce, but I find I have not time, as the ship sails to-day. I shall, therefore, defer

writing to him till my return to Bencoolen, when I hope to have much new matter. In the mean time you will oblige me much by presenting my respects, and assuring him that we are doing all we can in the good cause. I wish he were fully aware of what might be done here.

"On the voyage from England, the attention of Lady Raffles and myself was principally devoted to natural history. We had with us Dr. Arnold, an eminent naturalist, and an amiable man, and, with his assistance, we studied most of the elementary works. Our poor friend, Dr. Arnold, has since fallen a sacrifice to his exertions, and we have lost him; but we have supplied his place by Dr. Jack, a young man of very superior talent, and excellent disposition. His time is almost exclusively devoted to botanical pursuits, and our collections are already very interesting and extensive. I have also in my family two French naturalists, one of them step-son to Cuvier. They undertake the zoological department. We collect a few stones wherever we go, and chemistry may be added to the list of our studies.

"These pursuits we selected as the most amusing and useful we could follow. I was well aware that Sumatra afforded nothing in language, literature, science, or the arts, to interest. The great volume of nature, however, is is laid open before us; and, in the absence of political objects, we foresaw enough to occupy our attention during the period of our banishment. We are vain enough to hope, that with the means we at present possess, and con-

tinued application for the next five years, we shall be able to do much towards describing the natural history of Sumatra and the adjoining islands.

"Thus you will see that we do not depend entirely upon public or political objects. I have done what I conceive my duty in these; and if my projects fail, I shall still have enough to interest me at home.

"Lady Raffles unites in the most affectionate regards to Mrs. Inglis and yourself, and we beg that you will offer our kindest respects to Sir Hugh and Lady Inglis. To Sir Hugh I would write, had I not already informed you of all that is likely to prove interesting to him. My next letter shall, however, be to him; but it must be delayed until I have more leisure and time to condense what I would wish to say. I should not feel myself authorized to convey my sentiments in the same loose and unguarded manner to him that I do to you. I rely upon your friendship and kindness, and remain always,

Most sincerely yours.

"It may be satisfactory to Sir Hugh to know that Lord Hastings has made the *amende honorable;* expressed in the handsomest terms his regret that he should ever have viewed my proceedings in Java in another light, and his approbation and applause of the general principles which regulated my Government, which he is pleased to say were as creditable to me as honourable to my country."

Sir Stamford returned to Bencoolen, and the only event that occurred on the voyage was, the vessel striking on a bank in the Straits of Rhio during the night. It was feared she would not be got off, and a small boat was prepared to endeavour to carry him back to Singapore, with the Editor and their child, an infant four months old: but just as they were leaving the vessel, hopes were entertained that by throwing all the water overboard to lighten the ship she might be got off, and before morning the attempt succeeded. It was then considered fortunate that the accident occurred so near an European settlement; but on stopping at Rhio and sending in a boat, stating what had happened, and requesting a supply of water, the Dutch Resident refused all intercourse, asserted that Sir Stamford went as a spy, and would not give the assistance solicited; it was, therefore, with considerable anxiety that the voyage was continued; fortunately in passing through the Straits of Banca a good Samaritan appeared in one of the beautiful American vessels, so numerous in these seas, when the Captain generously, and at considerable risk, for the wind was strong and in his favour, stopped his course, and with great difficulty, by means of ropes, conveyed some casks of water, and went on board himself to inquire into the cause of distress; the Captain's name is forgotten, but his kindness has often been acknowledged with gratitude and praise.

It is difficult to convey an idea of the pleasure of sailing

through this beautiful and unparalleled Archipelago, in which every attraction of nature is combined; the smoothness of the sea, the lightness of the atmosphere, the constant succession of the most picturesque lake scenery, islands of every shape and size clustered together, mountains of the most fanciful forms crowned with verdure to their summit, rich and luxuriant vegetation extending to the very edge of the water, little native boats, often with only one person in them, continually darting out from the deep shade which concealed them, looking like so many cockle-shells wafted about by the wind. Altogether it is a fairy scene of enchantment, deserving of a poet's pen to describe its beauties.

CHAPTER XIV.

Sir Stamford arrives at Bencoolen—Endeavours to induce the inhabitants to take an interest in the improvement of the country—Irregularities which formerly prevailed—School for the children of the slaves—Its success—Missionaries—Religion of the people—Effect of an institution for the Education of the higher orders—Anxiety for Mr. Wilberforce's assistance—Bible Society—Schools—Sir Stamford resolves to proceed again to Calcutta—Billiton—Lord Hastings on the subject of Eastern arrangements—Leaves Calcutta to return to Bencoolen.

THE immediate concerns of Bencoolen engrossed Sir Stamford's attention on his return from Singapore. He was anxious to excite an interest in the Europeans for the improvement of the natives, and to induce them to find occupation and amusement in a place where they were obliged to pass so many years of their lives. Of public duty there was little for them to perform; and it was always a subject of regret to him, that so many young men were doomed to spend their days in idleness, without any stimulant from the hope of future promotion or success, to rouse them to energy and activity.

Committees were appointed to inquire into various subjects; societies were formed for bettering the condition of the people, and for promoting the agriculture of the country.

The appearance of the Settlement was greatly changed. On Sir Stamford's first arrival in 1818, he found that every tree and shrub had been cut down (from fear of the natives) around the residence of the chief authority, which had in consequence a most desolate appearance: he immediately formed a garden, and surrounded the Government-house with plantations. As a proof of the luxuriance of vegetation in these islands, it may be stated, that during his absence of eleven months, the casuarina trees had grown to the height of thirty or forty feet; and he had the pleasure, on his return, to see the house encircled by a shrubbery of nutmeg, clove, cocoa, and cassia trees, and of driving through an approach of alternate nutmeg and clove trees; the place seemed to have been converted almost by magic from a wilderness into a garden. The nutmeg tree is exceedingly beautiful; it bears in profusion, spreads its branches in a wide circle, and the fruit is perhaps the most beautiful in the world; the outside covering, or shell, is of a rich cream colour, and resembles a peach; this bursts, and shows the dark nut, encircled and chequered with mace of the brightest crimson; which, when contrasted with the deep emerald green leaf, is delightfully grateful to the eye.

Sir Stamford wrote to Mr. Wilberforce at this time on various subjects connected with his plans for the general improvement of the people around him.

TO W. WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

" *September*, 1819.

" My dear Sir,

" I have delayed writing to you thus long in the expectation of leisure, which I have never found; but I cannot longer decline the duty of giving you some information regarding the state of our population, and the means which are in progress for its amelioration and improvement. My public duties have called me to different and distant countries, and a large portion of my time has necessarily been devoted to political objects; but in the course of these, neither the cause of the slave, nor the improvement of those subjected to our influence, has been forgotten. In Sumatra I had, in many respects, a new field to tread; its population, for the most part, is many centuries behind that of Java; and before any rational plan for general improvement could be adopted, it was necessary not only that much detailed information should be collected, but that the principles and extent of our political authority and influence should be clearly understood and established.

" I shall not attempt to sketch even the outline of the picture which presented itself at Bencoolen, a settlement which has been in our possession upwards of a century; but in which, I am sorry to say, I found as many vices and defects, political as well as moral, as were usually exhibited in the worst of the Dutch settlements. To attempt any improvement in the existing order of things, without

changing the principle, appeared to me more likely to increase the evil than remove it, and a thorough and entire reform became indispensable. This I found it necessary to introduce, and to effect on my personal responsibility; but I have since had the satisfaction to receive the approval of the higher authorities, who have admitted that these changes appear to have been 'founded on sound principles of economy, expediency and humanity.' Thus encouraged, I have not hesitated to prosecute my plans with ardour and decision; and the results, as far as they have yet been seen, have fully answered my expectations. As much has been done as the time and the peculiar circumstances of the country and people have admitted, and the foundation has at least been laid on which a better state of society may be established.

"Among the more striking irregularities which I found to prevail, was the encouragement and countenance given to slavery, by the entertainment on the part of Government of a gang of negroes, in number between two and three hundred. This appeared to me so opposite to the Company's general practice and principles in India, and so prejudicial to their character, that I did not hesitate to take upon myself the measure of emancipating the whole, and by this my first act to give an earnest of the principles on which my future government would be conducted. A provision was continued for the old and infirm, as well as the children; and as the latter were numerous, no time was lost in affording them the means

of obtaining such an education as might fit them for the new state and condition to which they had been raised. An institution for the education of the Caffre children was accordingly established, and placed under the immediate superintendence of our chaplain; and from this small beginning, originating in the abolition of slavery, may be traced the progress we are now making on a more extensive and enlarged scale throughout the Archipelago, and to which I am now to draw your attention.

"The success of this little institution was soon manifest—an aptness and capacity in the children to receive instruction, and the unexpected talent displayed by some of them, excited general interest; in the mean time our information and experience of the native character became more extensive, and it was found that no serious obstacle stood in the way of generally educating the whole of the rising generation subjected to our influence. In my visit to Bengal I had obtained the aid of the Baptist missionaries, and one of these young men, well acquainted with the principles and practice of our national schools, accompanied me on my return, bringing with him a small fount of types in the Roman and native character. With this experience and aid I lost no time in giving effect to a plan I had long contemplated, and the improvement which had already taken place in the tone and taste of our small European society, seemed to second my efforts. In our chaplain, the Rev. Charles Winter, I found every disposition to extend the sphere of his usefulness, and by

associating him in a committee of gentlemen who had formerly been in my family in Java, and on whose principles, zeal, and devotion I could rely, I readily found the means of effective superintendence. The enclosed printed copy of the proceedings of this committee will place you in full possession of the principles on which we have proceeded, and of the particulars of what has been done towards the establishment of schools at Bencoolen. In the last report of the committee with which this paper concludes, you will perceive some interesting observations on the condition of society, the character and usages of the people, and the facilities which are afforded for more generally extending the plan of educating the whole of the native population. On this report I shall only observe, that in estimating the character of the people, the committee have rather taken a general opinion for granted, than gone themselves into the investigation of that character, or the causes which may have tended to deteriorate it. On this subject they are professedly superficial: in other respects you will find much to interest you, and I am confident they will have your full support and approbation in the general conclusions and anticipations which they form. Among the older inhabitants I found an inveterate prejudice against the natives, although by their intimacy with them I might have expected a different opinion. Much of this, however, is already wearing off, and I have at least introduced into this superintending committee enough of the new leaven of charity and benevolence to

prevent the institution from running aground on the rocks of illiberality and prejudice.

"While this committee have confided themselves to things as they are, and to objects of immediate and practical usefulness, another committee have directed their undivided and particular attention to the causes which may have produced the present state of society—to the origin and root of the evil, and the means which in a more extensive and enlarged view it may be proper to contemplate for its counteraction. I had myself paid much attention to this subject, and in my different excursions into the interior of the Island had collected abundant information. The various reforms and alterations which I have introduced had been adopted on a thorough knowledge of the state of the country and people; but as yet I stood alone. It was on my undivided conviction, and on my personal representations alone, that the necessity and propriety of these amendments were upheld; and as the interests of some were affected, and the doubts and malignity of others might be injurious, I thought it advisable that such a body of information should be collected by an independent committee, as would give weight and security to my own measures, and at the same time enable a distant authority to form a correct judgment of the real state of the case. The condition of society at Bencoolen is so peculiar, and it has been influenced by so many extraordinary and unaccountable circumstances, that it is difficult to convey any adequate or just idea of it in a few words. The first re-

port of this committee is therefore of high interest, and I am confident it will be perused by you with attention. You will find depicted in it a state of society very different from what is usually met with, but you will observe with pleasure that, in the character of the people, we still find the rudiments and basis of a better order of things.

"It is at present exclusively an official paper, and you must consider this communication as expressly private. Some severe strictures are necessarily passed in it on the general system of European administration, which it might not be pleasant to lay before so severe a tribunal as the public, although I am myself of opinion that it is far better openly to acknowledge our errors, where we know we have done wrong, and thus to bind ourselves to a different course for the future.

"I am in a particular manner indebted to a member of my family, Mr. Jack, for the zeal, ardour, and ability which he has infused into the researches and proceedings of this committee; and, I think, you will find more information in a small compass, on the subject on which it treats, than is elewhere to be met with. The labours of the committee are by no means closed; they will prosecute their inquiries into the inmost recesses of Sumatra, and endeavour to exhibit, in a clear and comprehensive view, the real resources of the country, and the true character, feelings, and capacity of its population. Of this large Island, the districts immediately dependent on Bencoolen are, perhaps, the least important; but, as the seat of our

authority, they have necessarily attracted our first attention. We have opened our ports to a free and unrestricted commerce, and have foregone all prospect of revenue from the country, at least in its present impoverished state; and it is to the improvement of the people in their minds and their morals that we now alone look for our public prosperity.

"I must now carry you to a more extensive field, and endeavour to obtain all the aid of your powerful patronage and support for an institution, which is to operate on a more enlarged and still more important scale, and which is intended to complete the design I had in view: it is the key-stone to the arch, and when once this is constructed and well cemented, holier and better men may raise upon it such a superstructure as their duty to God may require. All that I attempt is to pave the way for better things; and, although I am far from lukewarm towards higher ends, I am content to confide all my views to the enlargement of the human mind, and the general spread of moral principles. In the present state of these countries, these are the first to be attended to—to prepare the mind for religious truth and Christian discipline. It is true the people of these Islands are distinguished by the absence of that spirit of intolerance and bigotry, which prevails on the continent of India, and that they place the fullest confidence in the benevolence and liberality of our government and institutions; but we as yet only see them as the sea in a calm. I write these remarks to you, my dear Sir,

without reserve, knowing that in your kindness and liberality they will meet with every indulgence. I am far from opposing missionaries, and the more that come out the better; but let them be enlightened men, and placed in connection with the schools, and under due control.

"I must, however, return to my institution, which is intended to be a native college, for the education of the higher orders of the natives, and to afford the means of instruction to ourselves in the native languages, and of prosecuting our researches into the history, literature, and resources of the farther East. When I tell you that the effect of this institution is intended to be felt among a population of not less than thirty millions, and that its influence may eventually, and perhaps at no very distant date, extend over ten times that number, it is not necessary to say more on the extent and importance of the field; of its nature and interest, I need only refer you to the map of the world, and request you to consider all those countries lying to the east and south of the Ganges, as included within our range. It is from the banks of the Ganges to the utmost limits of China and Japan, and to New Holland, that the influence of our proposed institution is calculated to extend; and of these extensive countries, no portion has a higher and more peculiar interest than the Eastern Islands. I dare not, however, trust myself to descant upon them, and to enter upon so extensive and important a field at the close of a private letter, which has already exceeded its proper limits; but I regret this the less, as I

am enabled to forward to you, in a more connected form, a copy of the leading arguments and reasoning which have weighed with me on the occasion.

"This paper has been drawn up to be submitted to the Marquis of Hastings, in the hope of obtaining his Lordship's powerful support; but if it can be rendered in any way useful in your hands in aid of the objects contemplated, or in furtherance of the enlightened views which are always present to your philanthropic mind, you are at liberty to circulate it as you may think proper. We shall require all the aid of powerful support at home; and as you were kind enough to take so warm an interest in the fate of our Java Benevolent Society, I am inclined to hope that the views and principles of the African Institution will not be considered to have been less attended to in our present proceedings, which promise to have a far more immediate and extensive operation.

"I am particularly anxious that the lamp we have lighted should not be allowed to shine with a dim or imperfect lustre; the spark has been struck with enthusiasm, and while I remain in this country, the flame shall be fanned with ardour and perseverance; but we must look to a higher Power for the oil which is to feed and support it, and, above all, to the protecting and encouraging influence of true principles and British philanthropy, to shield it, not only against the blasts of adversity, but the no less destructive vapours of indifference and neglect.

"However anxious I may feel to devote the best portion

of my life, and however much my fortune might justify a longer residence in this country, I have reason to feel that my health is not likely to carry me through more than five or six years' continuance in these islands; and it is therefore necessary that I should look forward to a period when the influence of my personal presence and exertions will be withdrawn. I am now endeavouring to lay the foundation as broad as possible, and have already selected fit instruments for the furtherance of my plans in several of the most important stations; but that I may raise more labourers for the field, it is of importance that they should have a high and steady superintending and encouraging authority to look to; such an authority and support at home as the labourers in the African cause at all times found. Can you not take us under your parental wings, or could you not make the Eastern Islands a branch of the African Institution under some other designation? If our objects and our principles are the same, and the field for improvement is at least as wide and important, why should this fair and interesting portion of the globe, superior by far in the extent of its population, and equal in its resources, and so peculiar in its character, be left to slumber in ignorance, while the wilder shores of Africa, and the more distant isles of the South Sea alone invite the attention of the philanthropist? Hitherto it has been left at the mercy of the Moor and the Dutchman, and it might be difficult to decide which has been the most injurious: for my own part, I am inclined to prefer the former, but

perhaps my prejudices against the Dutch may carry me too far. Be this as it may, we are now independent of both; the station which has been established at Singapore, at the southern extremity of the Malayan Peninsula, has given us the command of the Archipelago as well in peace as in war: our commerce will extend to every part, and British principles will be known and felt throughout.

"I ought to apologize for the length of this letter, knowing how much your time is occupied, and how little of it can possibly be devoted to an object which appears to me so important as the present. I will not say I envy the unfortunate African because he enjoys so much larger a portion of your thoughts and attention, but I cannot help adding that I wish they were, even for a short time, directed to the Malay, the Javan, the Sumatran, the Bornean, the Avanese, the Siamese, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the millions of others with whom I am in daily communication, and to whom the name of William Wilberforce, if not entirely unknown, is only coupled with that of Africa. I know, my dear Sir, that the boundless goodness of your heart, and the noble stretch of your mind, embraces at once the good of all mankind; but perhaps from an impression that individual exertions are best directed to one particular focus or object, or more probably from the absence of correct information of the importance and necessity of your influence in these seas, the subject may not have sufficiently attracted your attention.

"I have observed it noticed in a late publication, 'that it is upon Asiatic soil only that the advocates of the slave abolition are to gain their final victory—that upon the British Asiatic policy in the development of the unbounded resources of Asia depends the ascendancy of the British character.' The writer most probably drew his conclusions from very different premises, and they are so strikingly illustrative of what I would impress upon you, that I could not omit noticing them. You must remember also that we have many of the woolly-headed race scattered over these islands from the Andamans to New Guinea, and that there have not been wanting persons who consider them as the aborigines of the country: that the Malay language extends westward as far as Madagascar, and that, however remote these islands may be from Africa geographically, and distinct from it politically in the present condition of the world, there are traces of a more intimate connexion in former times. I mention this to show that we have even claims upon you as the friend of Africa: for I am far from concurring in the opinion regarding the aborigines of these islands, and rather consider the Caffres we now find in them to have been brought by traders in remote periods as slaves—as such they are generally considered and treated whenever entrapped.

"The same political objection which might be started to the interference of your Society in Bengal, and where we have an extensive dominion, and an efficient Govern-

ment to provide for all its wants, does not apply to the countries beyond the Ganges. With these our intercourse is entirely commercial, and our object is to raise the native governments into consideration and importance: the stronger and more enlightened these are, the safer our communication, the more extensive our commerce, and the more important the connexion. There is hardly one of these states whose history, resources, and population is known to the European world. A part of my plan is to encourage the collection of all interesting details on these subjects, and I could wish that the persons who devote their time to these objects should possess the means of communicating the information to the public. An annual report to the African Institution, or to you individually, with such occasional tracts as may be interesting, might be forwarded. But I leave to you to point out what had best be done. You will perceive that we are not idle, and that the spirit which has gone forth only requires to be properly directed and supported to lead to results of the most promising nature.

"I must now conclude with my kindest regards to Mrs. Wilberforce, in which Lady Raffles unites most cordially, as well as in every assurance of respect, esteem, and veneration, with which I am, very obediently,

"T. S. R.

"I should mention that I caused your present of a seal

to be duly delivered to the Penambahan of Samunap*, and that I have in return received his acknowledgments through the Governor-General of Batavia, together with a handsome crees, which I am requested to forward to you as a mark of respect and attention on the part of that Chief."

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO SIR R. H. INGLIS, BART.

"*Bencoolen, October 5th*, 1819.

* * * * *

"I have much to communicate to you on the subject of our Bible Society and Schools, of the latter particularly; but as our proceedings will probably be printed, a communication of them in that form will perhaps be sufficient until I can write you more at length. My attention during the last two months has been very closely directed to the moral condition of our population.

* A native Chief, who had inherited in his family domestic slaves. When it was proposed that all the slaves on the Island should be registered, he proudly said, "I will not register my slaves; they shall be free: hitherto they have been kept such, because it was the custom, and the Dutch liked to be attended by slaves when they visited the palace; but as that is not the case with the British, they shall cease to be slaves; for long have I felt shame, and my blood has run cold, when I have reflected on what I once saw at Batavia and Samarang, where human beings were exposed for public sale, placed on a table, and examined like sheep and oxen!" The slaves in Java were the property of the Europeans and Chinese alone: the native Chiefs never required the services of slaves, nor engaged in the traffic of slavery. Whilst in England Sir Stamford had a seal made, and Mr. Wilberforce's name engraved on it, which he took out, and sent to this Chief as a token of acknowledgment for this liberal act.

Schools on the Lancastrian plan have been adopted with success, and I am now proposing the establishment of a native college at Singapore. I mean to submit my plans, in the first instance, to the Government of Bengal, and, if possible, to carry Lord Hastings with me. Some aid from the Company is indispensable, and his Lordship has evinced a general desire to support similar institutions.

"I can assure you we are not idle, and if we do not make more noise about what we are doing, it is because we are more intent on the real object, than the acquisition of credit for what we do: it is for the pleasure and satisfaction which the labour itself affords, and the gratification a favourable result may ensure, that we work, and not for the uncertain praise and applause of the day. I enclose the first Report of our Bible Society: it says little, but to the purpose, and it may be interesting as the first production of a small press which I have established at Bencoolen.

"Lady Raffles unites with me in kindest respects.

"I remain,

"T. S. RAFFLES."

TO ————.

"*October 7th*, 1819.

"Sophia enjoys the best health, and our two children are of course prodigies. The boy even excels his sister in beauty and expression, and our only anxiety is to take them to England before the climate makes an inroad on their constitution. Till they are six, seven, or eight

years old, they may remain with safety; but after that period both mind and body will be injured by a longer residence within the tropics.

"Such portion of my time as is not taken up in public business, is principally devoted to natural history. We are making very extensive collections in all departments; and as Sophia takes her full share in these pursuits, the children will, no doubt, easily imbibe a taste for these amusing and interesting occupations. Charlotte has her lap full of shells, and the boy is usually denominated '*le jeune Aristote.*'

"T. S. R."

Whilst happily employed in these more domestic but not less interesting occupations, intelligence was brought of the death of Colonel Bannerman. This event, melancholy in itself, Sir Stamford thought likely to afford an opportunity for urging upon the consideration of the Supreme Government his views for the general administration of the Eastern Islands. He therefore resolved to proceed again to Calcutta. The season was far advanced, the vessel which brought the report was the only one likely to touch at Bencoolen for many months; and he was obliged to separate himself from his family on account of its total want of accommodation, as the captain, when offered any sum he would name to make room for the Editor, proposed to arrange a part of the *hold* of the vessel: public duty seemed to require his presence in

Calcutta, and therefore Sir Stamford determined to proceed there alone.

The following are extracts from the letters written during the voyage, or during his residence in Calcutta.

TO ————.

"*On board the brig Favourite, October* 20, 1819.

"I am once more at sea on my way to Calcutta. On deliberate consideration I resolved to proceed to Bengal for the advantage of personal communication, the object at stake being important. The size of the vessel, and the season of the year, about the change of the monsoon, have weighed with me in leaving Sophia at Bencoolen; and distressing as the separation must be, I do not regret that I am alone, for we have experienced very bad weather, and it is as much as I can do to stand up against all the privations and annoyances of the vessel.

"My views regarding the Eastern Islands are extensive, and, I think, important to our commercial and political interests. The field is large, new and interesting; and, in spite of all your advice, *Self*, I can assure you, is never viewed or reflected upon by me with any other feelings than those of patriotism, benevolence, and duty. Hitherto you have not had a word of my commercial plans: these I have kept back, as they did not require the immediate attention that those of a political nature did; but they are not less important, for they include the whole trade of

the Archipelago. I will, however, give you some account of what we have been doing at Bencoolen. Here, at any rate, my measures have met with general approbation. They are admitted by the Supreme Government to be founded on *sound principles of economy, good government, and humanity.*

"My absence from the seat of government, with little or no communication for upwards of eleven months, during which the charge of the place necessarily devolved on a person who did not comprehend the principles on which I acted, has afforded the means of proving that there was nothing in the nature of those principles calculated to create commotion, or to occasion dangerous consequences; that, in fact, such an apprehension was a mere bugbear, created in the confused noddles of those who were ignorant or afraid of their advantage, and supported by those who knew no better; that innovation and reform are attended with difficulties and dangers, no one will deny, but it is for him who carries them into effect to be prepared to meet and subdue them as they arise. I wish, however, those who were so ready to declare the impossibility of the change would now admit they were mistaken, and state the grounds of their misconception. They could not resist giving me at least credit for overcoming what they conceived impossible. I would then simply ask their opinion on the contrast between *what is,* and *what was?*

"You will recollect a conversation we had previous to my embarkation on a very serious subject. To prove to

you that I am not inattentive to those important interests on the *largest* scale, I refer you to what we have done towards the amelioration, civilization, and improvement of our population, the only rational steps which can be taken for eventually spreading advantages of a higher nature, which we derive from the comforts of revelation and religion.

* * * * *

"Of the more immediate and practicable measures, however, I must refer you to the recent establishment of schools on the Lancastrian principle. A parent school has been established at Bencoolen, whence I hope to supply each village with a tutor, and gradually extend the spread of knowledge throughout the whole island. The march will be slow but sure, and while we are doing all we can to amend the present race, we are preparing to supply their place, in the rising generation, by a people in whom improvement and civilization may be more readily extended.

* * * * *

"But a still more important and interesting report deserves your attention, as containing a true picture of the present state of society at Bencoolen, on the subject of the recent changes which have been effected. It has occurred to me that this mode of exhibiting our real condition was advisable. My individual opinion might be doubted, or supposed to be interested or biassed; I have, therefore, availed myself of the support of others, and by

placing our clergyman at the head of the committee, given a degree of weight which could not attach to the same arguments used by me alone. As I have no council at Bencoolen, I make committees supply their place. Reflect that Bencoolen is the oldest establishment we have in India. It is folly to say I am doing the Company an injury in exposing the vices of the system: they must be exposed in order to produce a thorough repentance, without which we cannot amend our ways; or to use a more appropriate phrase, turn over a new leaf. No man, and no body of men, were ever condemned for acknowledging their errors, provided they were resolved to depart from them: it is by a perseverance in what is bad, by an endeavour to conceal from ourselves and the world that things are as bad as they really are, that we do mischief.

* * * * *

"I feel so satisfied that all I have done and am doing at Bencoolen is right, that I am only apprehensive on one point, and that is, the authorities in Europe crying out prematurely. The obstacles in my way, in the point of economy, are great: while there is so large an establishment of civilians for whom there is no employment, and so many dependants on the Company's bounty, what can be done? Remove the former, and let the latter die off, and then we shall get on.

"My health and constitution will not admit of my remaining many years in India, and I must endeavour, by an increased activity, to make up for want of time. When

do you think I shall get home? Will seven years' banishment be enough for all my sins? or must I linger till I can sin no more?

"You will be happy to hear that I have the advantage of a highly scientific friend in Dr. Jack, who supplies poor Arnold's place. I have also two Frenchmen employed, and my collections are very considerable; and both Sophia and myself pass many happy hours among the flowers, the birds, and the beasts, &c.

* * * * *

"I have revised the custom-house and port regulations, which was absolutely necessary, and declared the port free of all duties."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*At sea, in the Bay of Bengal, Nov.* 9, 1820.

"Behold me again at sea in my passage to Bengal. I had hardly arrived at Bencoolen, when events occurred which rendered this voyage indispensable; but I have undertaken it alone, the smallness of the vessel and the adverse season of the year inducing me to insist on Lady Raffles remaining quietly at home. An opening seems now to be afforded for extending my views and plans to the Eastward, and this shall be the last effort I will make. If I succeed I shall have enough to occupy my attention while I remain in the East; and if I do not, I can only return to Bencoolen, and enjoy domestic retirement in the bosom of my family.

"In this country, you will be happy to hear that we have completely turned the tables on the Dutch. The occupation of Singapore has been the death-blow to all their plans; and I trust that our political and commercial interests will be adequately secured, notwithstanding the unhandsome and ungenerous manner in which ministers have treated me individually, or the indifference they have shown to the subject. I was perfectly aware that they would not like the agitation of the question; but they ought to have been aware that it could not be avoided, and that however easy it may be in the Cabinet to sacrifice the best interests of the nation, there are spirits and voices engendered by the principles of our constitution that will not remain quiet under it. * * *

"But a truce to politics; a few words on our domestic arrangements and plans will, I doubt not, be far more interesting than all my public speculations. You are already informed that Lady Raffles presented me with a son and heir while at Penang; he is now a fine stout boy, and as bold as a lion; the reverse of your god-daughter in almost everything. She is the most gentle, timid being in existence. It is now above a month since I left them, and two more will elapse before I see them again.

* * * * *

"I have endeavoured to supply the place of Dr. Arnold by another botanical friend, and when other objects do not distract us, we always find abundant employment among our plants and animals. The two French

naturalists are indefatigable, and their collection is already very extensive. I am now preparing for transmission to Sir Joseph a full description of the *Duyong*, or mermaid of these seas. I am afraid, however, that the particulars will but ill accord with the accounts of former travellers, and that in this, as in many other cases, when we descend from imagination to simple facts, there will be a wonderful falling off; were it not so in the present instance, I don't know how I could detail to you the relish with which I dined off the flesh of one of these seducing animals.

"I intended to have sent your Grace a detailed account of my mission to Acheen, where I had to put the crown on the proper head; but the subject is so mixed with political matter, that I fear it would have but little interest; for what can you care about a kingdom at the other end of the world, and where the people have no peculiar virtues to recommend them? I was detained in the country for nearly two months, and to give you an idea of my employment, it may be sufficient to state, that our proceedings filled upwards of a thousand pages of the Company's largest-sized paper. This is the laborious way in which we are sometimes obliged to do business in India, and will perhaps account for my unwillingness to enlarge farther on a subject of which I must be pretty well tired.

* * * * *

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*At Sea, November 9th*, 1819, *within three days' sail of Calcutta.*

"My dear Cousin,

"As I know the warm interest you feel in our plans of improvement, I lose no time in enclosing, under a separate cover, a copy of the first proceedings which have been printed of our Bible Society, and a still more interesting account of our schools: the latter forms but a part of a more general and extensive plan that I have set on foot for the spread of knowledge, and the growth of moral principles throughout the Archipelago. Much of my time has lately been devoted to these objects, and if I am able to carry my plan for the establishment of a native college at Singapore, the system will be complete. If you refer to the map, and observe the commanding position of Singapore, situated at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula, you will at once see what a field is opened for our operations. It is very probable that I shall print a few copies of a paper which I have drawn up on this subject, in which case I shall not fail to send you a copy.

"The Baptist Missionary Establishment have lately written to me on the subject of sending out missionaries. My answer is encouraging, and I have accompanied it by some general observations on the plan of conversion. We have already one young man, and a small printing press; but we require active zeal, and I shall find enough to do for all you can send out; but let them make haste—

years roll on very fast. Two years have now elapsed since I left England, and in five or six more I hope to be thinking of returning. There is no political objection whatever to missionaries in this part of the East, and so far from obstructing, they may be expected to hasten and assist, the plans which are already in operation."

TO THE SAME.

"*Off the Sand Heads, Bengal, Nov.* 10*th*, 1819.

"My dear Cousin,

* * * * *

"I wish to bespeak your good offices, and the exertion of your energies, in support of an institution I am about to form for generally educating the higher class of natives. The enclosed paper will place you in full possession of my views, plans, and anticipations in this respect, and I shall not detain you here by a repetition of them.

"I have written to Mr. Wilberforce on the subject, and am anxious that he should take us under the parental wing of the African Institution. I promise glorious results, and all I ask is support and encouragement, not so much for myself, but to aid and foster a proper spirit in those who must practically assist, and on whom the immediate superintendence and labour must fall, when I am over the seas, and far away. All improvements of this nature must be slow and gradual, and we should look a good way forward. The short time that I may remain in India will only serve to set the machine in motion—

and how uncertain after all is life! Unless some permanent support is found in England, an accident to me might destroy all my highest anticipations.

* * * * *

"I am now on my way to Calcutta, in the hope of forwarding all my plans—and if I am successful, you shall soon hear further from me. In the mean time, and always, believe me, most affectionately,

"T. S. RAFFLES."

Referring to this subject in a letter to another friend, of the same date, he says, "The field is certainly extensive and interesting, and among so many good men at home, it is hard if we cannot find some friends to the Eastern Isles. If Mr. Wilberforce will take them up all will go right."

The state of Sir Stamford's mind, in private as well as in public, may be collected from the following letters, written about this time.

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Calcutta, December 17th*, 1819.

* * * * *

"I do all I can to raise myself above these feelings, in the hope that there is, even in this world, more happiness than we weak mortals can comprehend. I have had enough of sorrow in my short career; and it still comes too ready a guest without my bidding; but I drive it from my door, and do my best to preserve my health

and spirits, that I may last out a few years longer, and contribute, as far as I can, to the happiness of others.

"But away with this melancholy strain. I fear I am getting almost as bad as those to whom I would preach; and, in truth, I am at this moment heavy and sick at heart. I could lay me down and cry, and weep for hours together, and yet I know not why, except that I am unhappy. But for my dear sister's arrival, I should still have been a solitary wretch in this busy capital. I left Lady Raffles and my dear children at Bencoolen three months ago; and I have no one here of congenial feelings with whom I can communicate.

* * * * *

"If there is time, I will endeavour to send your Grace a paper, which will explain to you more fully what my present views and wishes are. I do not, however, set my heart on them, or, indeed, on anything else, except returning to England as soon as possible. I am almost tempted to say that this is becoming every day more and more the sole object of my desires, and I do yet hope that ere the fifth repetition of Christmas, we may be within reach of one of the Duke's parks. On my return to Bencoolen, I shall probably be able to speak more decidedly on this point; and in the mean time, what I have now said will, I hope, convince you that I am beginning to turn my thoughts homewards. I must look out for some cottage or farm, and profiting by the distresses of the great land-

holders, endeavour to sell butter and cheese to advantage —do you think this would do ?"

* * * * *

TO ———.

" *Diamond Harbour, January,* 1820.

"I have been delayed in Calcutta for a month longer than I expected, on account of a severe and trying illness, which has long confined me to my bed and room: I am happy, however, to say, that I am again convalescent, and in a fair way of recovery. I embarked yesterday. Sophia and the children were well the beginning of December, but I have not heard from them since I sailed.

"Singapore, I am happy to say, continues to rise most rapidly in importance and resources. It is already one of the first ports in the East, and I doubt not you will receive very favourable reports by every homeward-bound ship. I could write volumes in its favour, but it may suffice to say, that it has in every respect answered, beyond my most sanguine expectations.

"On leaving Calcutta, you will expect some opinion from me on the state of my interests, and generally of the opinion entertained respecting my views and plans to the eastward. Here, as in England, I find that my presence has served to dissipate many a cloud, and that opposition has receded as I approached. There is a very favourable disposition to me personally, but, I believe, still more so to my plans, which are now approved of, and upheld by all

descriptions of persons, high and low. The following extract from a note I have received from a very high and influencing authority will speak for itself:—'Your very interesting report regarding the commercial relations of the Eastern Islands is still in circulation with the members of government. It will not, probably, lead to any practical result in this country, but will, of course, be brought to the notice of the authorities at home. I should sincerely rejoice to see adopted the admirable scheme which you have sketched for the organization and management of our Eastern possessions. I am surprised that the commercial men of Calcutta have not more distinctly marked their sense of the great advantages likely to accrue to the commercial interests of India and England, from the successful prosecution of your plan.'

"With regard to the commercial men, nothing can exceed the attention I have received from them: they gave me a public dinner, and made every demonstration to me personally during my stay in Calcutta; but they wait till I have left it to send in a written representation to Government, which, for many reasons, it is better should be done during my absence.

"I hope the Supreme Government will also forward, by the present ship, their sentiments upon my administration and proceedings at Bencoolen: they fully approve and applaud all I have done, and their communications to me on the subject are most flattering.

"Report says, the Dutch have been driven out and

massacred at Padang. Nothing is more likely, for their conduct was abominable. Oh that our politicians at home would act with a little common sense and firmness! It is folly for them to procrastinate; and unless they do what is just and fair, nature and circumstances will involve them in the eventual necessity of a still more unpleasant interference hereafter."

CHAPTER XV.

Sir Stamford fails in introducing a more economical and simple mode of government for the Eastern Islands — Difficulties of altering established forms — Illness — Sight of Sumatra — Tappanooly — Battas — Population — Language — Manners — Civilized cannibals — Eating their prisoners of war, criminals, and parents, alive — Description of eating a person as a punishment — Padries — Cholera Morbus — Camphor tree — Laws of the Battas — Succession of nephews — Mr. Ward's opinion.

Sir Stamford Raffles failed in his endeavour to prevail upon the Supreme Government to introduce a more simple mode of management for the Eastern Islands. It is, perhaps, not easy to break up large and old establishments, or to check the progress of patronage and power. The government of Penang was admitted to be a cumbrous, useless machine, for which no employment could be found. A Resident with two or three assistants at each were acknowledged to be sufficient for all the duties at each of the three stations of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore,—the latter was so fixed by Sir Stamford; but when Bencoolen was given up to the Dutch in 1824, the East India Company transferred all the civil servants from that establishment to these places, in two of which there were already more than it was possible to find em-

ployment for; and even since that event more young men have been sent out to Penang. Under such arrangements it is impossible to keep down expenditure; and Singapore has in consequence greatly increased in expense since Sir Stamford relinquished his control over it.

In the month of February, 1820, Sir Stamford prepared to leave Calcutta and return to Sumatra, with the consciousness of having, to the utmost of his ability, endeavoured to prevail upon those who had the power to reform what was acknowledged to require reformation, and to lessen expense where it was confessed that useless expenditure existed.

The nature of his feelings, and of his occupations on his return to the scene of his public duties in Sumatra, is well described by himself in his letters to different friends, from which the following are extracts. They contain a curious and almost original account of some of the inhabitants of that great island:—

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Off Sumatra, February* 12, 1820.

"You will, perhaps, have condemned me for so long a silence, yet when you know the cause, I am satisfied you will cease to think unkindly.

"I have been ill—very ill—so much so, that for the last month of my stay in Calcutta I was confined to my bed, and forbidden to write or even to think. I was removed from my room to the ship with very little strength, but I

am happy to say that I am already nearly recovered: the sight of Sumatra, and the health-inspiring breezes of the Malayan Islands, have effected a wonderful change; and though I still feel weak, and am as thin as a scare-crow, I may fairly say that I am in good health and spirits.

"I am beginning to turn my thoughts homewards, and shall very soon ask your advice on a thousand pursuits.

* * * * *

"I have just left Tappanooly, situated in the very heart of the Batta country, abounding in camphor and benjamin, and full of interest for the naturalist and philosopher. If you have occasionally looked into Mr. Marsden's History of Sumatra, you will recollect that the Battas are cannibals. Now do not be surprised at what I shall tell you regarding them, for I tell the truth, and nothing but the truth.

"To prepare you a little, I must premise that the Battas are an extensive and populous nation of Sumatra, occupying the whole of that part of the island lying between Acheen and Menangkabu, reaching to both the shores. The coast is but thinly inhabited, but in the interior the people are said to be 'as thick as the leaves of the forest;' perhaps the whole nation may amount to between one and two millions of souls. They have a regular government, deliberative assemblies, and are great orators; nearly the whole of them write, and they possess a language and written character peculiar to themselves. In their language and terms, as well as in some of their

laws and usages, the influence of Hinduism may be traced, but they have also a religion peculiar to themselves; they acknowledge the one and only great God, under the title *Dibata Assi Assi,* and they have a Trinity of great gods, supposed to have been created by him. They are warlike, extremely fair and honourable in all their dealings, most deliberate in all their proceedings; their country is highly cultivated, and crimes are few.

"The evidence adduced by Mr. Marsden must have removed all doubt from every unprejudiced mind that, notwithstanding all this in their favour, the Battas are strictly cannibals; but he has not gone half far enough. He seems to consider that it is only in cases of prisoners taken in war, or in extreme cases of adultery, that the practice of man-eating is resorted to, and then that it is only in a fit of revenge. He tells us that, not satisfied with cutting off pieces and eating them raw, instances have been known where some of the people present have run up to the victim, and actually torn the flesh from the bones with their teeth. He also tells us, that one of our Residents found the remains of an English soldier, who had been only half eaten, and afterwards discovered his finger sticking on a fork, laid by, but first taken warm from the fire: but I had rather refer your Grace to the book; and if you have not got it, pray send for it, and read all that is said about the Battas.

"In a small pamphlet, lately addressed to the Court of Directors, respecting the coast, an instance still more

horrible than any thing related by Mr. Marsden is introduced; and as this pamphlet was written by a high authority, and the fact is not disputed, there can be no question as to its correctness; it is nearly as follows:—

"A few years ago, a man had been found guilty of a very common crime, and was sentenced to be eaten according to the law of the land; this took place close to Tappanooly; the Resident was invited to attend; he declined, but his assistant and a native officer were present. As soon as they reached the spot, they found a large assemblage of people, and the criminal tied to a tree, with his hands extended. The minister of justice, who was himself a Chief of some rank, then came forward with a large knife in his hand, which he brandished as he approached the victim. He was followed by a man carrying a dish, in which was a preparation or condiment, composed of limes, chillies, and salt, called by the Malays *Sambul*. He then called aloud for the injured husband, and demanded what part he chose; he replied the right ear, which was immediately cut off with one stroke, and delivered to the party, who, turning round to the man behind, deliberately dipped it into the Sambul, and devoured it; the rest of the party then fell upon the body, each taking and eating the part most to his liking. After they had cut off a considerable part of the flesh, one man stabbed him to the heart; but this was rather out of compliment to the foreign visiters, as it is by no means the custom to give the *coup de grace*.

"It was with a knowledge of all these facts regarding the Battas that I paid a visit to Tappanooly, with a determination to satisfy my mind most fully in everything concerning their cannibalism. I had previously set on foot extensive inquiries, and so managed matters as to concentrate the information, and to bring the point within a narrow compass. You shall now hear the result: but, before I proceed, I must beg of you to have a little more patience than you had with Mr. Mariner. I recollect that when you came to the story of eating the aunt you threw the book down. Now I can assure your Grace that I have ten times more to report, and you *must* believe me.

"I have said the Battas are not a bad people, and I still think so, notwithstanding they eat one another, and relish the flesh of a man better than that of an ox or a pig. You must merely consider that I am giving you an account of a novel state of society. The Battas are not savages, for they write and read, and think full as much and more than those who are brought up at our Lancastrian and National Schools. They have also codes of laws of great antiquity, and it is from a regard for these laws, and a veneration for the institutions of their ancestors, that they eat each other. The law declares that for certain crimes, four in number, the criminal shall be eaten ALIVE. The same law declares also, that in great wars, that is to say, one district with another, it shall be lawful to eat the prisoners, whether taken alive, dead, or in their graves.

"In the four great cases of crimes the criminal is also duly tried and condemned by a competent tribunal. When the evidence is heard sentence is pronounced, when the Chiefs drink a dram each, which last ceremony is equivalent to signing and sealing with us.

"Two or three days then elapse to give time for assembling the people, and in cases of adultery it is not allowed to carry the sentence into effect, unless the relations of the wife appear and partake of the feast. The prisoner is then brought forward on the day appointed, and fixed to a stake with his hands extended. The husband or party injured comes up and takes the first choice, generally the ears; the rest then, according to their rank, take the choice pieces, each helping himself according to his liking. After all have partaken, the chief person goes up and cuts off the head, which he carries home as a trophy. The head is hung up in front of the house, and the brains are carefully preserved in a bottle for purposes of witchcraft, &c. In devouring the flesh, it is sometimes eaten raw, and sometimes grilled, but it must be eaten upon the spot. Limes, salt, and pepper, are always in readiness, and they sometimes eat rice with the flesh, but never drink toddy or spirits; many carry bamboos with them, and filling them with blood drink it off. The assembly consists of men alone, as the flesh of man is prohibited to the females: it is said, however, that they get a bit by stealth now and then.

"I am assured, and *really* do believe, that many of the

people prefer human flesh to any other, but notwithstanding this *penchant* they never indulge the appetite except on lawful occasions. The palms of the hands, and the soles of the feet, are the delicacies of epicures!

"On expressing my surprise at the continuance of such extraordinary practices, I was informed that formerly it was usual for the people to eat their parents when too old for work. The old people selected the horizontal branch of a tree, and quickly suspended themselves by their hands, while their children and neighbours, forming a circle, danced round them, crying out, 'When the fruit is ripe, then it will fall.' This practice took place during the season of limes, when salt and pepper were plenty, and as soon as the victims became fatigued, and could hold on no longer, they fell down, when all hands cut them up, and made a hearty meal of them. This practice, however, of eating the old people has been abandoned, and thus a step in civilization has been attained, and, therefore, there are hopes of future improvement.

"This state of society you will admit to be very peculiar. It is calculated, that certainly not less than from sixty to one hundred Battas are thus eaten in a year in times of peace.

"I was going on to tell your Grace much about the treatment of the females and children, but I find that I have already filled several sheets, and that I am called away from the cabin; I will therefore conclude, with entreating you not to think the worse of me for this horrible relation.

You know that I am far from wishing to paint any of the Malay race in the worst colours, but yet I must tell the truth. Notwithstanding the practices I have related, it is my determination to take Lady Raffles into the interior, and to spend a month or two in the midst of these Battas. Should any accident occur to us, or should we never be heard of more, you may conclude we have been eaten.

"I am half afraid to send this scrawl, and yet it may amuse you: if it does not, throw itin to the fire; and still believe that, though half a cannibal, and living among cannibals, I am not less warm in heart and soul. In the deepest recesses of the forest, and among the most savage of all tribes, my heart still clings to those afar off; and I do believe that even were I present at a Batta feast, I should be thinking of kind friends at Maiden Bradley. What an association! God forgive me, and bless you all.

"I am forming a collection of skulls; some from bodies that have been eaten. Will your Grace allow them room among the curiosities?"

TO W. MARSDEN, ESQ.

"*At sea, off Anulabia, Feb.* 13, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Owing to my long absence from Bencoolen, and frequent change of residence, my Europe letters have seldom reached me without considerable delay, and then *en masse*. I have now before me your letters of the * *

"After thanking you generally for these kind proofs of

your attention and friendship, allow me to express my particular obligations to you for Marco Polo, which I am happy to say has reached me in excellent condition. I have not had time to read it through, but I have devoted all my spare hours to it, and mean to go through it *de suite* as soon as I am once more settled at home.

"I am looking with anxiety for Crawfurd's work: from the time he has taken to arrange and polish, I feel no doubt of its value. I expect from him a somewhat new view of the literature, history, and antiquities of Java, as he appears in his review of my work in the Edinburgh to have thrown a cloud over that part of my story. I shall be happy to stand corrected where I am wrong, and to acknowledge my error; but I hope he will give something more than assertion as to the dates which he disputed. I have obtained some new lights on these since my return to this country.

"I observe what you say in your last letter regarding the publication of my late journeys in the interior. Dr. Horsfield has sufficient materials. Should he not undertake it, I shall have no objection to draw up the account myself; but I confess I would prefer its being undertaken by some other hand than mine. I shall be most happy to receive your suggestions as to the best mode of giving the public an account of the kind. I have a good deal to say about the interior of Moco Moco, and Sambi-Acheen, and Palembang; and if you purpose another edition of Sumatra, perhaps some of the information may be useful

to you. I am not desirous of publishing, and yet I should be sorry if the information were lost for want of it.

"From the map you will receive you will perceive an essential difference in the situation of Pageruyong. It is about thirty miles east of the west coast. From the distracted state of the Menangkabu country, it was difficult to obtain extensive information. The question regarding the communication between the rivers of Siak and Indragiri must still rest on the authority on which you received it; as far as I could infer, and calculate distances and probabilities, I conceive it most likely that no such communication exists. The Indragiri river appears to be navigable for sloops of fifty and seventy tons, as high as the Falls, and it is even said that boats of considerable burthen are to be found above them. These are situated in that part of the country usually called *K'uantan*, near which the Sultan of Pageruyong has recently fixed his residence.

"It occurs to me that an account of the *Orang Putis*, or Padries, might be well introduced into the account of our journey to Menangkabu, and I have already collected some very interesting information respecting these people, who, in many particulars, seem to resemble the Wahabees of the desert. They have proved themselves most unrelenting and tyrannical; but their rule seems calculated to reform and improve, inasmuch as it introduces something like authority, so much wanted over all Sumatra."

The following is an extract from the paper of informa-

tion collected on the occasions to which Sir Stamford here alluded:—

"The Padries are causing great alarm at our northern stations, and seem to be rapidly increasing in power. The natives say, at first one of the Chiefs of the country, who was well-read in most religious books, had great sense and cunning, and much wealth and influence, consulted with some of his friends of the neighbouring districts, to endeavour to introduce some improvements among the people; 'for,' he observed, 'not one-tenth of the population prayed, or seemed to have any fear of God; but, on the contrary, were totally addicted to cock-fighting and inebriety:' he was therefore determined to abolish gambling, and to forbid the use of all intoxicating beverages.

"His friends wished him to go farther; they alleged that it was written, 'that he who did not pray, and refused to embrace the tenets of the Koran, merited death and confiscation:' it was then determined to enforce the tenets of the Mahomedan religion throughout the province.

"The Chief then proclaimed that the religion of Mahomet consisted in four principal doctrines—faith, circumcision, seclusion, and the knowledge of God, and that prayer was the proof of religion; and he entreated all people to unite with him in establishing these doctrines amongst themselves, and in every other country within their means; that the tokens of union in the cause of God should be a beard for the males, and that the women

should conceal their faces; that neither sex should bathe naked; that the selling of strong drinks should be unlawful, and the use of tobacco for smoking or eating should be abolished.

"The people generally, as may be supposed, were not inclined to practise so much self-denial, and war was soon declared against all who refused to pray and receive the new tenets. The country was devastated, the people plundered, and fines levied upon the conquered. A council was appointed to see that prayers were regular, and that drinking, and eating tobacco were no longer practised. A man who shaved away his beard was to be fined. The filing of teeth was to be punished by the forfeit of a buffalo. If the faces of females were uncovered; if women quarrelled; if a child was beaten, fines were imposed: long nails on the fingers were reduced by cutting them and the flesh together, besides a fine. Repeated neglect of fast and prayers was punished with death. * * * *

"I intended to have written you very fully from Bengal, but I was attacked by a severe fever, and not allowed to use my pen for ten minutes together. I, however, forwarded to you from thence several papers, which I hope may prove of some interest. One of these is the report of a committee appointed to assist in forming something like a statistical account of Sumatra. You are fully aware of my sentiments respecting Bencoolen, and will not, therefore, be surprised to find them confirmed in the

report. Not having a council, I avail myself of the assistance and advice of committees whenever I find it necessary that my opinions should be examined or confirmed, and I have already found considerable advantage from the plan. In a small place like Bencoolen, it is likely that such committees will generally feel the influence of the superior authority; but yet they may possess independence and talent sufficient to assist and protect that authority very essentially.

"Of my plan for a college at Singapore I feel no doubt you will approve generally. The success of the undertaking will depend on the estimate I have formed of the character of the people: if I am right, they are a very different people from those on the continent of India, and it is in this difference that the advantage exists. On this subject also, I hope, when you are at leisure, you will favour me with your sentiments.

"Of my own circumstances, plans, and expectations, I have not much to say at present. The result of my visit to Bengal has been a more intimate connexion with that government, and a strong recommendation home from them in favour of all my plans, whether at Bencoolen, Singapore, or Penang, or of the whole collectively.

"You will be pleased to hear that Singapore has again become a great and flourishing city. The population is already more than three times that of Bencoolen, and is rapidly augmenting. I do not like to say much on the subject, because it is something like praising one's own

child; but I may fairly say that it has in every respect exceeded even my most sanguine expectation, and this, you will admit, is saying not a little.

"With respect to the Dutch, everything remains in great suspense pending the references made to Europe by both parties. The Governor-General in council has declared his sentiments of their proceedings in much less qualified terms than I had previously done, and does not hesitate to tell the authorities of Batavia, that they have been actuated throughout by views of unbounded ambition, and an unfair and dishonourable attempt to injure and degrade the English.

"I will not, however, detain you. * *

"The cholera morbus has lately committed dreadful ravages at Acheen, Penang, and Quedah: it is now raging at Malacca, and I have great apprehensions for Singapore. From Bencoolen I have not heard for some months, but I am in hopes that the inhospitable nature of our coast, and the poverty of our inhabitants, may for once be in our favour, and that we shall neither receive so unwelcome a guest, nor, if he does effect his landing, afford him sufficient subsistence for his support. We fell in with a brig yesterday from the Isle of France, where this fatal disease appears also to have arrived: God knows where it will go next; whether eastward to Siam and China, or westward to Africa and Europe."

TO WM. MARSDEN, ESQ.

"*Off Nattal, February 27th*, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"As I shall find an arrear of five months to get through at Bencoolen, it may be as well that I communicate to you, without loss of time, some of the particulars which I have ascertained in my late visit to Tappanooly.

"We had a fine view of the waterfall at Mansular, and I did not fail to approach it in a boat near enough to ascertain that it does not fall into a great Danu, but into the sea. We landed on the Island, and collected a few plants of undescribed species. The rock of which the Island is composed is trap or basalt.

"A subject of greater interest was the camphor tree, and, as might be expected, I tried my luck, and was fortunate in procuring a small quantity of camphor from the tree felled on the occasion. My friend, Dr. Jack, has now satisfied himself on all points, and a detailed description is in progress. You are already informed that the flowers have been examined, and found to be monadelphous (*monadelphia polygamia*); specimens have been sent home to Mr. Brown and Mr. Lambert.

"But my attention was still more attracted by the people of the country; and though our stay was short, I was enabled to satisfy myself fully on several very interesting points. I have found all you say on the subject of cannibalism more than confirmed. I do not think you

have even gone far enough. You might have broadly stated, that it is the practice not only to eat the victim, but to eat him alive. I shall pass over the particulars of all previous information which I have received, and endeavour to give you, in a few words, the result of a deliberate inquiry from the Batta Chiefs of Tappanooly. I caused the most intelligent to be assembled; and, in the presence of Mr. Prince and Dr. Jack, obtained the following information, of the truth of which none of us have the least doubt.

"It is the universal and standing law of the Battas, that death by eating shall be inflicted in the following cases.

"1st. For adultery.

"2nd. For midnight robbery; and,

"3rd. In wars of importance, that is to say, one district against another, the prisoners are sacrificed.

"4th. For intermarrying in the same tribe, which is forbidden from the circumstance of their having ancestors in common; and,

"5th. For treacherous attack on a house, village, or person.

"In all the above cases it is lawful for the victims to be eaten, and they are eaten alive, that is to say, they are not previously put to death. The victim is tied to a stake, with his arms extended, the party collected in a circle around him, and the Chief gives the order to commence eating. The chief enemy, when it is a prisoner,

or the chief party injured in other cases, has the first selection; and after he has cut off his slice, others cut off pieces according to their taste and fancy, until all the flesh is devoured.

"It is either eaten raw or grilled, and generally dipped in Sambul (a preparation of Chili pepper and salt), which is always in readiness. Rajah Bandahara, a Batta, and one of the Chiefs of Tappanooly, asserted that he was present at a festival of this kind about eight years ago, at the village of Subluan, on the other side of the bay, not nine miles distant, where the heads may still be seen.

"When the party is a prisoner taken in war, he is eaten immediately, and on the spot. Whether dead or alive he is equally eaten, and it is usual even to drag the bodies from the graves, and, after disinterring them, to eat the flesh. This only in cases of war.

"From the clear and concurring testimony of all parties, it is certain that it is the practice *not* to kill the victims till the whole of the flesh cut off by the party is eaten, should he live so long; the Chief or party injured then comes forward and cuts off the head, which he carries home as a trophy. Within the last three years there have been two instances of this kind of punishment within ten miles of Tappanooly, and the heads are still preserved.

"In cases of adultery the injured party usually takes the ear or ears; but the ceremony is not allowed to take place except the wife's relations are present and partake of it.

"In these and other cases where the criminal is directed to be eaten, he is secured and kept for two or three days, till every person (that is to say males) is assembled. He is then eaten quietly, and in cold blood, with as much ceremony, and perhaps more, than attends the execution of a capital sentence in Europe.

"The bones are scattered abroad after the flesh has been eaten, and the head alone preserved. The brains belong to the Chief, or injured party, who usually preserves them in a bottle, for purposes of witchcraft, &c. They do not eat the bowels, but like the heart; and many drink the blood from bamboos. The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are the delicacies of epicures.

"Horrid and diabolical as these practices may appear, it is no less true that they are the result of much deliberation among the parties, and seldom, except in the case of prisoners in war, the effect of immediate and private revenge. In all cases of crimes, the party has a regular trial, and no punishment can be inflicted until sentence is regularly and formally passed in the public fair. Here the Chiefs of the neighbouring kampong assemble, hear the evidence, and deliberate upon the crime and probable guilt of the party; when condemned, the sentence is ratified by the Chiefs drinking the tuah, or toddy, which is final, and may be considered equivalent to signing and sealing with us.

"I was very particular in my inquiries whether the assembly were intoxicated on occasions of these punish-

ments. I was assured it was never the case. The people take rice with them, and eat it with the meat, but no tuah is allowed. The punishment is always inflicted in public. The men alone are allowed to partake, as the flesh of man is prohibited to the women (probably from an apprehension that they might become too fond of it). The flesh is not allowed to be carried away from the spot, but must be consumed at the time.

"I am assured that the Battas are more attached to these laws than the Mahomedans are to their Koran, and that the number of the punishments is very considerable. My informants considered that there could not be less than fifty or sixty men eaten in a year, and this in times of peace; but they were unable to estimate the true extent, considering the great population of the country: they were confident, however, that these laws were strictly enforced, wherever the name of Batta was known, and that it was only in the immediate vicinity of our settlements that they were modified or neglected. For proof, they referred me to every Batta in the vicinity, and to the number of skulls to be seen in every village, each of which was from a victim of the kind.

"With regard to the relish with which the parties devour the flesh, it appeared that, independent of the desire of revenge which may be supposed to exist among the principals, about one-half of the people eat it with a relish, and speak of it with delight: the other half, though present, may not partake. Human flesh is, however,

generally considered preferable to cow or buffalo beef, or hog, and was admitted to be so even by my informants.

"Adverting to the possible origin of this practice, it was observed that formerly they ate their parents when too old for work: this, however, is no longer the case, and thus a step has been gained in civilization.

"It is admitted that the parties may be redeemed for a pecuniary compensation, but this is entirely at the option of the chief enemy or injured party, who, after his sentence is passed, may either have his victim eaten, or he may sell him for a slave; but the law is that he shall be eaten, and the prisoner is entirely at the mercy of his prosecutor.

"The laws by which these sentences are inflicted are too well known to require reference to books, but I am promised some MS. accounts which relate to the subject. These laws are called *huhum pinang àn*, from *depang an*, to eat—law or sentence to eat.

"I could give you many more details, but the above may be sufficient to show that our friends the Battas are even worse than you have represented them, and that those who are still sceptical have yet more to learn. I have also a great deal to say on the other side of the character, for the Battas have many virtues. I prize them highly. However horrible eating a man may sound in European ears, I question whether the party suffers so much, or the punishment itself is worse than the European tortures of two centuries ago. I have always

doubted the policy, and even the right of capital punishment among civilized nations; but this once admitted, and torture allowed, I see nothing more cruel in eating a man alive than in torturing him for days with mangled limbs and the like. Here they certainly eat him up at once, and the party seldom suffers more than a few minutes. It is probable that he suffers more pain from the loss of his ear than from what follows: indeed he is said to give one shriek when that is taken off, and then to continue silent till death.

"These severe punishments certainly tend to prevent crimes. The Battas are honest and honourable, and possess many more virtues than I have time to put down.

"I have arranged to pay a visit to Tobah, and the banks of the great lake, in the course of next year, and my plan is to go into the interior by the way of Barus, and to return by way of Nattal, taking the longest sweep where our influence will be most felt. Lady Raffles will, I hope, accompany me, and I shall endeavour to give up full six weeks for the trip. I am perfectly satisfied we shall be safe, and I hardly know any people on whom I would sooner rely than the Battas. In examining your map, it appears to me that you have carried the places mentioned in Miller's journey much too far to the eastward: for instance, Batangenan, which is inserted near the eastern coast. He certainly never penetrated half across the island, and in my opinion hardly beyond the first range of low hills.

"It may be interesting to you to know, that it is not among the Battas that the nephew inherits the rank and title; they invariably marry by jujur, and the eldest son succeeds. Personal property is divided, two-thirds to the eldest son, and one-third among the rest, boys and girls alike. Where there are more wives than one, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds.

"It is among the Malays that the succession of the nephew takes place. The Malays, as you are aware, trace their descent from Pati sa Batang and Kai Tumungung of Menangkabu. With the descendants of the former the nephew or kammanakan always succeeds. With the descendants of Kai Tumungung the eldest son or anak succeeds. The people of the Bander su Pulu, and nearly of all Padang, are of the tribe or division of Pati sa Batang, and this will account for the nephew succeeding with them.

"At Nattal the grandson inherits, unless the persons are married by jujur, when the son succeeds in preference.

"In my inquiries after books Rajah Bandara gave me the names and contents that follow:—

"1. Dha'un. On medicine.

"2. Pehi on Balangkahan Malay. On Astrology.

"3. Tandong. On the Art of War.

"4. Rumba. On Ditto, and which is referred to in cases of the last extremity.

"5. Pangram bui. Rules for taking up proper positions, &c. in war (Quarter-Master-General's department).

"The great god of the Battas is styled Debatta Assi Assi; and he it is who is supposed to have created Batara Guru, Seri Pada, and Mangala Bulan, the inferior Trinity of their worship.

"It would also appear that they have also something like an ecclesiastical Emperor or Chief, who is universally acknowledged, and referred to in all cases of public calamity, &c. His title is *Sa Singah Maha Rajah*, and he resides at *Bakara*, in the Toba district. He is descended from the Menangkabu race, and is of an antiquity which none disputes. My informants say certainly above thirty descents, or 900 years. He does not live in any very great state, but is particular in his observances; he neither eats hog nor drinks tuah. They believe him possessed of supernatural powers. He can blight the paddy, or restore the luxuriance of a faded crop.

"Writing is said to have been first introduced among the Battas by two persons named Datu Dalu and Datu Labi.

"At Selingdong is a stone image of a man, of great antiquity, supposed to have been brought from Pageruyong.

"Mr. Prince has recently discovered the ruins of a temple, with an inscription on stone, in unknown characters, inland of Nattal. People are at present employed in obtaining *fac similes*, but it is at some distance; and until I can visit the spot myself, I do not calculate on much. The inscriptions obtained at Menangkabu have

been translated by the Panambahan of Samanap into Javanese."

The following is an extract from a letter of Mr. Ward, a missionary, who afterwards made an excursion into the Batta country. It is introduced here as a corroboration of the truth of this extraordinary practice:—

"Four days after my arrival at Tappanooly, I commenced an excursion into the Batta country with Mr. Burton. We entered at the old settlement of Tappanooly, and pursued a north-westerly course, with the view of penetrating as far as the great lake of Toba. The hills were clothed with their native woods, and but thinly. At the distance of about twenty miles from the western coast, where the country assumed a more even surface, the forests entirely disappeared, and gave place to cultivation and an extensive body of people. The district of Silindang so highly gratified us, that we were tempted to remain a few days previously to prosecuting our journey to the Lake, a couple of days in advance. Three thousand people, who had never beheld a white face, received us in a manner perhaps similar to what we read of respecting the first appearance of the Spaniards in America. We were kept for four hours, on an elevation of twelve feet, exhibiting our persons; and not an hour passed for several days, during which we were not surrounded with crowds from various parts of the country. Some vene-

rated us as gods; all paid us much respect; and in point of treatment, we had nothing to complain of. To an assembly of the Chiefs the objects of our mission were explained: several tracts were read, and the future introduction of books was proposed, to all of which they listened with interest and pleasure, and frankly invited Mr. Burton to take up his abode with them; and we may view the result as a pleasing prospect for his future labours. Our notions relative to the Batta character and habits have been much corrected. We found them quiet and harmless, and much more under the influence of civil order than had been supposed, although their government appeared of a singular nature. The practice of cannibalism was general and frequent. Mr. Burton had soon an attack of dysentery, in which he exhausted his little store of medicine, and we were compelled to return without actually seeing the Lake. We gained some interesting particulars of it, which shall be duly mentioned. We discovered a hot mineral spring, depositing large quantities of lime. On the whole, I may say the Batta country, with regard to scenery, surpasses everything I have yet beheld: it possesses a delighful climate, an extensive population, and extreme fertility.

"At Sibolga I procured specimens for Batta types, and made arrangements for two native schools."

Mr. Burton, the Missionary, who is named in the foregoing letter, had requested permission to leave Bencoolen, and settle in the Batta country, with his wife and children.

for the purpose of establishing schools, and devoting his life to the education and improvement of a people whose character and barbarous customs excited general horror and detestation. He was exceedingly well received, and the people gladly availed themselves of the means of instruction thus offered them: but after having laboured diligently for several years, and succeeded in establishing schools, both himself and his wife fell a sacrifice to the climate; and the Editor cannot but bear her testimony to the brightness of faith, the humble trust in God alone, the total sacrifice of all personal comfort, which they evinced when they went with their infant children amongst these people, with the determination there to live and die; there to devote themselves to their labour of love, in the hope of conveying the glad tidings of the Gospel to those who had yet to learn that the Son of God died for them.

CHAPTER XVI.

Sir Stamford devotes himself to his favourite pursuits—Builds a house in the country—Collections in Natural History sent home—Correspondence of Captain Flint with the Java Government—Improvement in Bencoolen—Pulo Nias—Easy communication with Palembang across the Island—Sir Stamford's description of his Children—His confidence that he has pursued a right course—His defence of his conduct—His opinion of the powers he was invested with—Arrival of Missionaries—Mr. Burton settles in the Batta country—Sir Stamford not supported by the Ministry—Introduction of British manufactures into China—Agricultural Society—Expense of Singapore—Manufacture of Sugar—Colonization——Lake of Korinbie—Nutmeg-trees—Malayan plants—Political speculation—Death of the Editor's brother.

On his return to Bencoolen (March, 1820) Sir Stamford felt that, politically, he had done all in his power to promote the best general and national interests of his country in the Eastern Seas; and from this time he devoted himself to the improvement of the little settlement, the more immediate scene of his residence and government; and indulged in pursuits to which he was always passionately attached. He resolved to build a house in the country; and as soon as one room was finished, took a part of his family, and occupied himself in cultivating the ground. He formed spice plantations to a large extent, and succeeded in introducing the cultivation of coffee. The labour was performed by convicts, who were settled in a village,

and soon became a useful community. The beauty, the retirement, the quiet domestic life, which he led in this happy retreat, soon restored his health; he rose at four in the morning, worked in his garden (in which he always planted all the seeds himself) until breakfast; then wrote and studied till dinner; after which he examined his plantations, always accompanied by his children; and often walked about until a late hour of the night. But his manner of life at this period may be best known by a reference to the following selections and extracts from his correspondence.

TO ———.

"*Bencoolen, March* 12, 1820.

"You will be happy to hear that I am once more in the bosom of my family, and in the enjoyment of every possible domestic felicity. We arrived here a few days ago, and found everything going on well, and as it should do. The country is perfectly quiet, the people satisfied, and Bencoolen, on the whole, improving; so much so, that as far as our personal comforts are concerned, we shall regret whenever the order arrives that we must quit it.

"Charlotte and Leopold are in high health and spirits; and in the course of two or three months, we hope to make up the trio. Sophia is quite well; and, as you may well conceive, quite happy at my return, after an absence of five months: for myself, I never was in better health.

"We are doing wonders in natural history, notwithstanding the want of support on the part of the Government.

"We have literally nothing for the civil servants to do at Bencoolen, and idleness is the root of all evils; they ought to be transferred to some other settlement, and not to be obliged to waste their time, life, and health here.

"The Sultan of Palembang still maintains his independence, having driven the Dutch out of the river with the loss of many ships and lives."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Bencoolen, March* 14, 1820.

"My dear Sir,

"I shall have the opportunity of writing you very fully by the Mary in the course of a few days; in the meantime it may be interesting to you to know that I purpose sending by her the whole of our zoological collection, among which are beautiful specimens of the tapir, rhinoceros, kijangs, &c. stuffed, in skeleton, and in spirits. It will, I think, be as important and interesting a consignment as was ever sent home. I have had, as you may suppose, a great deal of trouble.

"The term of their engagement is now concluded with my French naturalists; and they are pledged by duty and honour not to publish until the collections arrive and are noticed in England.

"I find the krabut, or great flower, to be much more general and more extensively known than I expected: in some districts it is simply called *ambem ambem*, and it seems to spring from the horizontal roots of those immense climbers or limes which are attached like cables to the

largest trees of the forest. It takes three months from the first appearance of the bud to the full expansion of the flower; and the flower appears but once a year, at the conclusion of the rainy season*.

"Further inquiries respecting the tunnu and babi-ala induce me to believe that there is still some large animal in our forests not inferior in size to the tapir, marked with a narrow riband of white around the belly and back. The tapir having remained so long undiscovered, affords at least some grounds for concluding it possible that others may exist. The natives who describe this animal simply say, that the white band is narrow, the feet three-toed, head truncated, and tail long. The chungkor of Palembang may be a third animal.

"I have a long list of animals, of which nothing yet is known beyond the name and native description.

"I have recently heard of several interesting remains of antiquity in the interior.

* An account of the *Rafflesia Arnoldi* completing its botanical history, will appear in the next part of the *Linnean Society's Transactions*. Since its discovery in Sumatra, a second species of *Rafflesia*, but little inferior in size, has been described and figured in the *Flora Java* of Dr. Blume, and a distinct but nearly-related genus (*Brugmansia*) has also been discovered in Java, and described in the same work. In the Paper about to appear in the *Linnean Society's Transactions*, these two, with a few other genera, allied in structure and of like economy, are considered as forming a separate natural order of plants, to which the name of *Rafflesiacea* has been given.

The Editor is indebted to the kindness of Robt. Brown, Esq., so well known as a distinguished botanist, for this information.—*May*, 1835.

"As the French gentlemen decline giving me the Linnæan descriptions I require, I shall set to work directly in framing a kind of *catalogue raisonné*, which shall be sent by the Mary, or the first ship that follows. In this I shall give a short description of the most remarkable subjects, without reference to what the French artists may say on availing myself of their papers.

"The duyong, which I sent to Sir Joseph Banks, will, I hope, have arrived safe. I have the skin and another complete skeleton here; also one about four and a half feet long, preserved in spirits. In consequence of Sir Everard Home's notice, I immediately turned my attention towards it, and procured two specimens in a few months.

"With respect to the tapir, I am not surprised that an account was first published in France. Major Farquhar had sent a stuffed specimen and a head to the Asiatic Society, with a paper descriptive of the animal, and giving an account of the discovery. About the same time a living animal was sent from Bencoolen to the menagerie at Calcutta.

"It was from the examination of these in Calcutta that the Frenchmen prepared their accounts; and the omission on our part is attributable, in a great measure, to the dilatoriness in the publications of the Asiatic Society.

"I have now several specimens, two male and female dried and stuffed, four in spirits, and four in skeleton.

"The Frenchmen maintain that the babi ala is one and the same animal with the tunnu: I suspect, however, that

they are mistaken. The true babi ala is represented to be a very different animal: it is the chungkor of Palembang, and abounds particularly in the district of Banguasin: the bones are preserved for medicinal purposes.

"If the description is correct, and you know how far reliance is to be placed on the unvarnished tale of the Sumatrans, this must be either a new animal altogether, or the babi rusa.

"I should here mention, that I do not find the babi rusa to be known as a native of Sumatra, and unless it should turn out to be the babi ala, which is at least doubtful, it cannot, I think, be yet considered as part of our fauna. What our future discoveries may lead to I will not say. Of the deer we have several specimens.

"The skins of our rhinoceroses are all soft. As yet I can only trace the two-horned animal in Sumatra. The white-banded animal, which I have provisionally termed a rhinoceros, on account of the horn, must be an entirely new animal.

"I break off to give audience to no less than three Sultans, who have been waiting for me for the last hour; and a man this moment appears with a cobra capella winding round his arm: it is not so large as the serpent of India, but has exactly the same description of hood.

"My *tunjong segara* expands rapidly, and is by far the brightest floweret of our Eastern Isle; and my little boy Leopold is following quickly in her steps: in a few weeks Lady Raffles promises me a continuation of the series."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen.*

"By the ship Mary I have sent a most valuable collection in natural history. The greatest possible care has been taken to render the collection valuable, and an appropriate accompaniment to that from Java. All I ask is, that you will not be lukewarm in promoting the interests of science and general knowledge.

"I have thrown politics far away; and since I must have nothing more to do with men, have taken to the wilder but less sophisticated animals of our woods. Our house is on one side a perfect menagerie, on another a perfect flora: here, a pile of stones; there, a collection of sea-weeds, shells, &c. I enclose you a curious correspondence, which has taken place between the authorities in Java, and my brother-in-law, Captain Flint, who touched at Batavia on his way to Singapore: it will show you the degree of personal feeling that still exists on the part of the Dutch.

FROM MR. BRAND, RESIDENT OF BATAVIA, TO CAPTAIN FLINT, R.N.

"'*Batavia, March 29th*, 1820.

"'SIR,

"'The Resident of Batavia having laid before his Excellency the Governor-General your application for leave to proceed to Samarang, I am directed to inform you that, under existing circumstances, no person who

may any ways be supposed to be connected with Sir Stamford Raffles and his views, either avowed or concealed, can be allowed a free ingress into the Island of Java, and that your request to be permitted to proceed to the eastern districts cannot therefore be acquiesced in.

"'In regretting that public grounds should lead to a refusal which may, perhaps, be productive of individual hardships, it is, however, satisfactory to reflect, that the alleged object of your voyage to Samarang, *viz. the adjustment of private concerns with Messrs. Deans, Scott, and Co.*, may be obtained with equal facility at Batavia, where a branch of that house is established.

"'I retain the passport under which you proceeded to this place, and have the honour to be, Sir,

"'Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "'J. E. BRAND.'

TO J. E. BRAND, ESQ. SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

"'*Batavia, April 6th*, 1820.

"'SIR,

"'In adverting to the general tenor of your letter of the 29th of March, I cannot but express my astonishment at so unexpected a communication; and I should be wanting in duty to myself and to the rank I have the honour to hold in the service of my country, did I allow it to pass unnoticed.

"'The cause of my visit to Java was entirely of a private nature, which I conceive is sufficiently proved by my having brought out a passport from his Excellency the

Dutch Ambassador in London, which I had the honour to enclose in my letter to the Resident, for the information of his Excellency the Governor-General, and therefore cannot, by liberal minds, be construed as in any way connected with the situation or views of Sir Stamford Raffles; and allow me here to observe, that it is not consistent with the known character of a Captain in the British Navy to act so degrading a part as that of a spy—a term not absolutely expressed, but most distinctly implied by the whole tenor of your letter.

"'My conduct, from the moment of my arrival, will bear the strictest scrutiny. I landed in my uniform, and immediately called at the Government-house. The following day I had the honour to dine with his Excellency, in the same dress. I took that opportunity to mention my wish to proceed to Samarang.

"'At that time the Governor-General made no objection whatever, but, on the contrary, inquired if I wished to proceed overland. This I declined in the most respectful manner, and on my quitting the Government-house, his Excellency referred me to the Resident, as the channel through which all public communications are made. I have written my name in full on the cover of every letter I have sent through the post-office, or otherwise.

"'*This does not savour of concealment.* That part of your letter negativing my being allowed, therefore, a free ingress into the Island of Java, must have been written

in total misconception of mine to the Governor-General, and my subsequent letter to the Resident, if proof be wanting, is sufficient of itself to show I had no wish or inclination to visit the interior of the Island.

"'I have the honour to be, Sir,

"'Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "'WM. FLINT.'

TO W. FLINT, ESQ.

"'*Batavia, April 8th*, 1820.

"'SIR,

"'Having laid your letter of the 30th March and 6th instant before his Excellency the Governor-General, I am now directed to give the following reply thereto:—

"'The communication which I had the honour to address to you on the 29th cannot, but by a studious misconstruction, be made subservient to inferences of the nature alluded to by you. The tenor of that letter was frank and unequivocal, and sprung from no other motive but the very natural desire to restrain the admittance of all persons, who might be supposed to possess that same eagerness of disseminating a hostile spirit towards the Dutch authorities, of which the late acts and attempts of Sir Stamford Raffles bear such decided and irrefragable testimony: for although the aspersions here alluded to, in whatever form thrown out, have been met by the Government with the only feeling which they are calculated to excite, yet it cannot be a matter of astonishment that the

Government should be unwilling to admit, without restraint, persons in whom the same tendency to indiscreet and ungenerous censure may be expected.

"'The tenor, however, of your last letter to my address has induced the Governor-General not to apply to you personally a measure in which, at first view, you appeared, from a general consideration of your private and public connexions with Sir Stamford Raffles, to be included; and relying, therefore, in the most unreserved manner, and with all confidence due to the rank you occupy in the British Navy, (a corps so eminently distinguished for honourable principles,) on the assurance given by you as to the object of your visit to this island, his Excellency is pleased to permit you to proceed to Samarang, for which purpose the necessary passport will be issued to you on application to the Resident of Batavia.

"'I have the honour to be, Sir,

"'Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "'J. E. BRAND.'"

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, April* 3, 1820.

"Singapore, I am happy to say, continues to thrive beyond all calculation, notwithstanding the * * * * and the uncertainty of possession. The exports and imports, even by native boats alone, exceed four millions of dollars in the year.

"Sophia and our little ones are quite well. The only

loss in our family has been in the death of my favourite bear, whose demise I shall not fail to notice with due honour when treating on Natural History."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Bencoolen, April 14th*, 1820.

"My dear Sir,

"I cannot allow a direct opportunity to pass without again thanking you for the kind interest you continue to take in our welfare, and letting you know that we continue in excellent health, with as fair prospects as political circumstances at present admit. My two children expand daily, and are all and everything we could wish them. Lady Raffles bears the climate better than I expected.

"In the political world I have nothing to communicate. In Java all remains quiet. The Dutch have wisely followed up the revenue system I established; and though I could say a great deal against particulars, I am on the whole tolerably satisfied with what they have done in this respect.

"We are anxiously awaiting the final arrangements from home. My last advices were in August, at which date the subject had been taken up. Java, and the Moluccas, with Macassar, or Celebes, is all that strictly ought to be left to the Dutch. Banca is of no further value to them.

* * * * *

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, April 18th,* 1820.

"I wrote you very fully about three weeks ago by the Mary, by which ship I sent Sir Joseph Banks a large consignment of prepared animals. I hope they have arrived safe, and proved that we are not idle. I have just now so little to do with politics, that I am able to devote a good deal of time to natural history; and I think you would be amused to see the extensive collection I am making. I intend to send you a large consignment by the first favourable conveyance, of which I shall request your Grace's kind care, until my return to England. This may serve as an indication that I am looking forward to the day when we may again meet. Two years have rolled away already; three or four more will, I hope, accomplish all the objects I have in view in this country; and then—we shall I hope meet again, all parties a few years older, but in other respects neither colder nor less happy than before we parted. We must now begin to forget those hateful words 'Good bye,' and to think of 'How do you do?'—Time flies fast—where are the years that are past—and how short may those which are to come appear when once we have again met, and look back upon them?

"Your Grace will, I doubt not, be happy to hear that our prospects, even at Bencoolen, are improving; the place no longer has that gloomy and desolate appearance of which I first complained. Population and industry are

increasing; the inland merchants begin to bring down the gold and cassia from the interior, and a stranger would hardly know the place again, so much is it changed from what it was two years ago. We have a good many comforts about us, and shall really regret any political necessity which obliges us to remove from what has now become our second home. We have a delightful garden, and so many living pets, children tame and wild, monkeys, dogs, birds, &c., that we have a perfect *règne animale* within our own walls, to say nothing of the surrounding forests now under contribution. I have one of the most beautiful little men of the woods that can be conceived; he is not much above two feet high, wears a beautiful surtout of fine white woollen, and in his disposition and habits the kindest and most correct creature imaginable; his face is jet black, and his features most expressive; he has not the slightest rudiments of a tail, always walks erect, and would I am sure become a favourite in Park Lane.

"Not long ago I gave your Grace a short account of my Batta friends. I am now much engaged in obtaining particulars of a very extensive and interesting population in one of the larger islands lying off Sumatra, Pulo Nias.

"The Nias people believe in one Supreme God, Lora Langi, but they do not pay him any kind of public worship. Below him is another God, called Batu Ba Danaw, who has charge of the earth, which they say is suspended from a stalk, or string, as an orange from the branch of a

tree. This is, perhaps, as happy an idea as the double-headed shot of Lord Erskine, and perhaps his Lordship may avail himself of the hint in the next volume of *Armata*. The world they suppose to have seven stages, or gradations, inhabited by as many different orders of beings. The stage immediately under us is possessed by dwarfs. The heavens, or sky above us, (Holi Yawa,) are peopled by a superior order of men, (Barucki,) of a most beautiful form and appearance. These are gifted with wings, and are invisible at pleasure, and they take an interest in all that passes on earth; they are governed by kings of their own: the one at present reigning is called Luo Mehuhana; there were four kings who ruled before him, and from whom he is descended.

"'The people of the earth,' they say, 'had for a length of time continued in a state of the grossest ignorance and barbarism; they neither lived in houses nor tilled the ground, but wandered about, subsisting on what the earth spontaneously produced. At last, the wife of Luo Mehuhana took pity upon their miserable condition, and ordered one of her subjects to descend to the earth, and teach its inhabitants the arts of civilization. He accordingly descended on Pulo Nias, and instructed them how to till the ground, to live in houses, to cook their victuals, and to form societies. He taught them also to speak, for hitherto they had not possessed even this means of communication.'

"Their laws are remarkably severe. It is death to

touch any part, even the finger, of an unmarried woman, or the wife of another man; but, notwithstanding this, I do not learn that they are particularly chaste. The wives are bought from the parents, as in Sumatra; and a man may have as many as he can afford to pay for.

"I will not at present trouble you with further particulars; the above will be sufficient to show that they are at least very original in their ideas; and on this account, if on no other, they must excite an interest.

"I must not close my letter without a few words on the politics of this part of the world, in which I hope your Grace still continues to take some interest.

"It will be satisfactory to you to know that the Dutch authorities in this country have at length been brought to their senses; and if what has been done here is only supported and followed up with common prudence and decision, we may at least save our commercial interests from the ruin which so lately impended. Singapore continues to rise as rapidly as all the out-stations of the Dutch decline."

The following extract of a letter from Sir Joseph Banks to Dr. Horsfield will show the high opinion he entertained of Sir Stamford, as well as of the botanical collections made in Java, and the encouragement he so liberally and generously extended to all those in pursuit of scientific objects; it was written in the year 1817, when Sir Stamford was in England:—

"The collections are interesting in the extreme, and will,

when published, make very valuable additions to the science of botany. Your industry, Sir, in collecting them is praiseworthy in the extreme; and the talent you have shewn in arranging them encourages a well-founded hope of much advantage to science being derived from your arrangement and observations on them.

"We are all here delighted with the acquaintance of Governor Raffles: he is certainly among the best informed of men, and possesses a larger stock of useful talent than any other individual of my acquaintance.

"I beg, Sir, that you will be assured that I shall always be ready and happy to give you every assistance in my power, and that you will have no scruple in addressing questions to me. Gentlemen who, like you, cultivate science in the wilderness of nature, where books are not to be found, have a right to call upon us inhabitants of libraries for every assistance you stand in need of, which we have the power of affording.

"I beg, Sir, that you will believe me your obliged and obedient servant,

"JOSEPH BANKS."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Bencoolen, April* 20, 1820.

"As you may not possess a correct vocabulary in the Nias language, I send you a few words; and you may, perhaps, be glad to learn that I am at present directing my attention a good deal to that Island.

"I hope hereafter to give you a complete vocabulary, in the Nias and Batta languages, of not less than three thousand words. My object is to compare them particularly with the Malay and Buggis. I shall follow the same arrangement as adopted in the Appendix to my History of Java, in order to render it more convenient for reference.

"My small establishment in the interior at Bukit Kabut has been of the greatest service in attracting traders and settlers from the interior; and were the affairs of Palembang once settled to our satisfaction, the interior would soon be as well known as the coast. There is a very good horse-road from Marlborough to Muara Billiti, on the Palembang river, whence the passage by water to Palembang can be accomplished in less than three days. Were Palembang free from the Dutch, I should make it the usual route between this place and Singapore.

"I have the pleasure to send Mrs. Marsden three boxes of spices, the produce of our own garden. We are now commencing plantations in the interior."

TO ——— ———.

"*Bencoolen, May* 26, 1820.

* * * * *

"At Singapore our interests and influence are rapidly extending; all goes on just as I could wish; and I think that you will be happy to hear that even Bencoolen has assumed a new interest in my eyes, and that I really feel a

satisfaction in the progressive improvement in the place. The last few months' leisure has enabled me to investigate the ancient tenure and history of the place and people, and the causes which have retarded the improvement of both; and to apply remedies which are likely to be effective. The old system may be now considered as destroyed, root and branch; and although a few of the decayed branches, and some noxious weeds may here and there appear, the country has generally assumed a new aspect, cultivation is quite the order of the day, and commenced upon with a spirit I hardly expected.

* * * * *

"Under these circumstances I should be sorry if any thing removed me from the place for the next year—and it will certainly require attentive management for a few years subsequent. The country and people are, in many respects, so different from what I found them, that a stranger would hardly know them again. It sometimes occurs to me as possible that Bencoolen may be given to the Dutch, in exchange for some other place. Sooner than we should lose our footing in the Archipelago I would willingly resign it; but, under any circumstances, it would be heart-breaking to give up the place just as the fruits of my system, and the returns for my labour, are about to be seen."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, June* 2, 1820.

"It is almost an age since I heard from England.

Your last letters were dated nearly a twelvemonth ago!—what a lapse!—and what may not have occurred in the interim? I dread to think of it; and yet, after all, I believe it is these cares and anxieties that are the chief source of all our earthly bliss, for without them we could not appreciate their reverse, or know what real happiness is. Had I not returned to India I should never have contemplated the delight which I now anticipate of once more meeting a long absent friend. You see what a philosopher I am.

"Nothing very particular has occurred since my last, except the birth of another boy. My dear little Charlotte is, of all creatures, the most angelic I ever beheld. She has those inborn graces which, as she expands, must attract the admiration of every one—but she has a soft heart, and is so full of mildness and gentleness, that I fear she will have many trials to go through in this unfeeling world. Her brother Leopold, however, will take her part, for he has the spirit of a lion, and is absolutely beautiful. But I will not tire you with any more family details, it will be sufficient to add, that we are all well, and as happy as absence from dear and relative friends will admit. My life is at present rather monotonous, not however unpleasantly so, for I have all the regular and substantial employment of domestic comfort in the bosom of a happy and thriving family; and in the daily pursuits of agriculture and magisterial duty I find abundance to interest and amuse. But I am no longer striding from one side of

India to another, overleaping mountains, or forming new countries—I am trying to do the best I can with a very old and nearly worn-out one, in which I hope, by infusing a new spirit, and encouraging habits of industry, and motives of enterprise, much may be done. I am busily engaged in taking a census of the population, and inquiring into the processes of husbandry, and the village institutions; and I think you would be amused to see me amid my rude and untutored mountaineers, collecting the details, and entering into all the particulars, as if they were the peasants of my own estate. I am becoming so attached to these pursuits, and find them so much more satisfactory than political discussion, that I believe I shall be sorry to change this mode of life. Allow me, therefore, to indulge my whim for a short time longer, and then I shall be able to carry home such a weight of experience, as may perhaps bring all your barren lands into cultivation. If I am not rich enough to have a farm of my own, I shall wish to become a farmer on your lands, and then—

* * * * *

"This is a very hurried letter, written at a moment when the ship is under weigh."

* * * * * *

Perhaps this was one of the most happy periods in Sir Stamford's life. Politically, he had attained the object which he felt so necessary for the good of his country (the establishment of Singapore). He was beloved by all those under his immediate control, who united in showing

him every mark of respect and attachment, and many were bound to him by ties of gratitude for offices of kindness, for private acts of benevolence and assistance which he delighted to exercise towards them, The settlement, like many other small societies, was divided into almost as many parties as there were families on his first arrival; but these differences were soon healed and quieted, and a general interchange of good offices had succeeded. The natives and Chiefs appreciated the interest which he took in their improvement, and placed implicit reliance upon his opinion and counsel.

The consciousness of being beloved is a delightful, happy feeling, and Sir Stamford acknowledged with thankfulness at this time that every wish of his heart was gratified. Uninterrupted health had prevailed in his family, his children were his pride and delight, and they had already imbibed from him those tastes it was his pleasure to cultivate: this will not be wondered at, even at their early age, when it is added, that two young tigers and a bear were for some time in the children's apartments, under the charge of their attendant, without being confined in cages, and it was rather a curious scene to see the children, the bear, the tigers, a blue mountain bird, and a favourite cat, all playing together, the parrot's beak being the only object of awe to all the party.

Perhaps few people in a public station led so simple a life; his mode of passing his time in the country has been already described. When he was in Bencoolen he rose

early and delighted in driving into the villages, inspecting the plantations, and encouraging the industry of the people; at nine a party assembled at breakfast, which separated immediately afterwards; and he wrote, read, studied natural history, chemistry, and geology, superintended the draftsmen, of whom he had constantly five or six employed in a verandah, and always had his children with him as he went from one pursuit to another, visiting his beautiful and extensive aviary, as well as the extraordinary collection of animals which were always domesticated in the house. At four he dined, and seldom alone, as he considered the settlement but as a family of which he was the head; immediately after dinner all the party drove out, and the evening was spent in reading and music and conversation. He never had any game of amusement in his house. After the party had dispersed, he was fond of walking out with the Editor, and enjoying the delicious coolness of the night land-wind, and a moon whose beauty those only who have been in tropical climates can judge of, so clear and penetrating are its rays, that many fear them as much as the glare of the sun. Though scarcely a day passed without reptiles of all kinds being brought in, and the Cobra de Capello in numbers, the Editor never remembers these pleasures being interrupted by any alarm.

Amidst these numerous sources of enjoyment, however, Sir Stamford never forgot that the scene was too bright to continue unclouded, and often gently warned the Editor

not to expect to retain all the blessings God in his bounty had heaped upon them at this time, but to feel that such happiness once enjoyed ought to shed a bright ray over the future, however dark and trying it might become.

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Bencoolen, June 27th*, 1820.

"As the notice given of the present opportunity of sending letters has been unexpected and short, I am not able to enter so fully as I could wish into the affairs and prospects of Bencoolen. This deficiency, however, I shall endeavour to supply by forwarding to you herewith copies of my recent letters on the subject, together with the regulations which I have recently established. It will, I am sure, afford you satisfaction to find that I am at length enabled to make a favourable report. I am very confident of success, but all depends on a perseverance in the plans commenced, and some liberality on the part of Government.

"I shall feel much indebted for your advice and opinion on any points which may strike you. I am perfectly open to conviction wherever I may have been wrong, and shall not be offended with the freedom of your remarks.

"The London arrived here on the 9th instant, and is now taking in a cargo of pepper at Toppanooly. By her I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of December. Pray tell Mrs Marsden that I will endeavour to make

amends by sending her a volume of details on all family matters the moment I can obtain an hour's leisure: in the mean time it will be satisfactory to her to know that we are all well and happy. My three children, Charlotte, Leopold, and Marco Polo, for so he is still called, although he was christened Stamford Marsden, are certainly the finest children that were ever seen; and if we can manage to take them home in about four or five years, we hope to prove that the climate of Bencoolen is not so very bad.

"As there was no chance of a direct opportunity, I have sent by the London duplicates, and even more complete sets of the quadrupeds and birds than those sent by the Mary, numbered, named, and ticketed, so as to correspond with my catalogues.

"I am at this moment superintending a complete set of the drawings, to be forwarded by the present opportunity, *via* Calcutta.

"I fear there will hardly be time for completing the duplicates of the catalogue of birds. My writers are now engaged upon it, and I will do my best to send it by the present conveyance.

"I find the natives in the interior consider the *Ungka Puti* as the Raja Binatang, on account of the extreme lightness and celerity of his movements: they say that in the morning he swings from tree to tree, and runs along the branches without shaking the dew from the leaves.

"From the reports received from Batavia, it would

seem the Dutch hesitate with regard to another attack on Palembang: in this I think they are wise—they seem to be in sad confusion, quarrelling among themselves, and without confidence in any of their subjects. About a fortnight ago they shot seven Frenchmen for deserting, and attempting to go over to Palembang—it is not, however, true that the Sultan has any foreign aid whatever. Singapore continues to prosper more and more.

"We are now busy in arranging the reptiles and crabs, of which we have a very large collection."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, June 27th*, 1820.

"You will find that I am not at a loss for useful employment and amusement at Bencoolen; it is a small place, but I will make the most of it I can. I no more trouble my head about the Dutch. I have turned farmer, and as President of the Agricultural Society find more real satisfaction than is to be derived from all the success that could attend a political life. We are all quite well; Sophia will write to this point."

TO THE SAME.

"*Bencoolen, July 7th*, 1820.

"We are all quite well, and shall be very well content to remain so. Singapore goes on progressively, and even Bencoolen is assuming a new and interesting character. My time and attention are at present devoted chiefly to agricultural pursuits, and I am determined, if possible, to

make the place raise its own supplies. I am taking a general census of the population of the country, and of its agricultural resources; and I hope soon to send you home some reports of interest and importance. The field is not very extensive, but it is new and untried, and energy and zeal shall not be wanting to make the most of it.

"Sophia and our three children are quite well; Charlotte and Leopold are everything we could wish, and the most intelligent children I ever met with, and young Marco Polo promises well. Leopold is by far the finest child of the three; he is handsome, bold, and intelligent, and struts about the house with an air of the most complete independence. We are all busy cultivating potatoes and plucking nutmegs. I hear that the Government of Batavia have declined sending the projected expedition to Palembang this year, and I think they are wise for so doing: the Sultan holds out nobly. The Dutch still complain of me. God knows I have shown them courtesy enough on this coast, and since the fate of Padang has been decided, I have felt but little interest in any other possession to the northward."

TO THE SAME.

"*Bencoolen, July* 14*th*, 1820.

"Since the establishment of the factory of Singapore, I have bid adieu to all political responsibility. My time has been exclusively devoted to the pursuits of natural

history, and the immediate interests of Bencoolen, which I am endeavouring to advance with all my might.

"Should Mr. Grant come into the chair, there is still a hope that all may be right. I am not, however, very sanguine, and shall be prepared for whatever ignorance, injustice, or party-spirit may dictate.

"I have lived long enough in the world to appreciate what is valuable in it; and the favour of ministers or courts never appeared to me equal to the conscientious conviction of having done one's duty—even the loss of fortune, honours, or, I might add, health. I have more satisfaction in what I have done since my return to India than with all my former endeavours; and the more I am opposed, the more my views are thwarted, destroyed, and counteracted, the firmer do I stand in my own opinion: for I am confident that I am right, and that when I appear at home, even those who are most opposed to me will be the first to acknowledge this. They do not, and will not, look at the question in its fair and true light; and such appears to be the spirit of *persecution*, that it would be idle to oppose it at this distance. I shall, therefore, bend with the blast, and endeavour to let the hurricane blow over me: the more violent it becomes, the sooner will it expend itself, and then it will be time for me to raise my head, to show the injury and devastation which has been spread abroad, and the folly of the course which has been pursued.

"The only mischief in this line of policy is this, that it

will force me to become a more public and prominent character than I would wish. My ambition is to end my days in domestic peace and comfort and literary leisure. A busy scene will oppose this, and though I may become a greater man, I perhaps may not become a happier one.

* * * * *

"After all, it is not impossible the ministry may be weak enough to abandon Singapore, and to sacrifice me, honour, and the Eastern Archipelago, to the outrageous pretensions of the Dutch. In this case, I may be recalled sooner than I expect, perhaps immediately. This I am aware of, but I should be best contented with things remaining *even as they are* for two or three years to come; I should then be better prepared for the contest; for a contest it must come to, sooner or later, and the longer the adjustment of our differences with the Dutch, on a *broad* and *just* footing, is delayed, the better must it be for our interests.

"I shall not fail to look forward, and to be prepared for this contest, come when it will; and if I cannot carry my plans here, they must prevail in England eventually.

"So much for politics and the Dutch. I shall now turn to more pleasing, and, at the same time, more safe subjects for discussion—what I am doing at Bencoolen, and the state of our domestic circle.

"In all your letters, you do not ask a question about Bencoolen. Is it because it is too insignificant? Here, at any rate, I am supported and upheld by the Bengal

Government; they have hitherto approved, unconditionally, of all my arrangements, and they have not been trifling. I have had to upset everything, and have had every possible difficulty to oppose in surmounting the prejudices and abolishing the corruptions of a hundred years' standing. The place is at last thriving, the remedy applied has been efficient, the turn has been taken, and a few years' perseverance will make this a new and prosperous country—great it can never be. I must, however, be prepared for an attack on the score of expense. The charges of the settlement have, I fear, rather been increased than otherwise, and this, with many, will tell against it; but it ought to be considered that we have abolished all revenues, consequently have no receipts to meet the charge—this was ordered by the Bengal Government—and that at the present moment we have a double establishment, civil and military. All changes and reforms are, besides, expensive; and although all my plans lead to real and practical economy, some liberality in effecting them is indispensable in the nature of things. I am endeavouring to cultivate the soil, and to civilize the people; and I am happy to say that some progress is making in both, notwithstanding the stubbornness with which both have been charged. It is a poor place, and much can never be made of it; but as it now nearly comprises my whole jurisdiction, and to act well our part, as far as our means extend, is all that is required, I do not deem its improvement unworthy my attention. It has

become a beautiful place; the spice gardens are rapidly increasing; and, as a place of retirement, I hardly know one which I would prefer to it. It is now my place of confinement; and as it is far superior to St. Helena, I ought not to complain. The Dutch wish me to be confined at Engano.

"Sophia and my dear children enjoy excellent health and spirits. We are now spending a few weeks in the midst of groves of nutmegs, cloves, and mangosteens."

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TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*Bencoolen, July 17th*, 1820.

"My dear Cousin,

"I have now before me your letters of the 18th December, delivered to me by Messrs. Burton and Evans, who arrived here early in last month, and are both likely to do well for themselves and the good cause in which they are embarked. I like them much, and they seem disposed to meet all my wishes. If anything, they are rather above than below the standard I would have fixed; and I am fearful they are hardly prepared for the difficulties and privations of a missionary life in such a barbarous country as this: they do not, however, appear to want zeal; they are scholars and gentlemen; and their wives are well calculated to aid their endeavours. Mr. Evans and his wife remain at Bencoolen, where they purpose opening a school on the 15th of next month. I have

assisted them by placing the children of our free school under their superintendence, and advancing them funds to commence the undertaking. Mr. Burton proposes fixing himself at Tappanooly or Natal, in the northern part of Sumatra, with a view to the conversion of the Battas and people of Pulo Nias. The field for his exertions is new and interesting, and I hope he will have energy and courage enough to explore it. The world knows so little of these people, and their habits and customs are so peculiar, that all the information which he collects will be useful. You are of course aware that they are cannibals. The population of the Batta country does not fall short of a million; and throughout the country it is the invariable law not only that prisoners taken in war should be eaten, but that capital punishment should also be inflicted by *eating the prisoners alive* for the five great crimes. You may rely on the fact, and that *eating alive* is as common with them as hanging in England. I have lately passed some part of my time in this part of the country, and can vouch for the correctness of what I state. The Island of Nias lies off the coast of Sumatra, nearly opposite Natal, and contains a population of above a hundred thousand souls: they have no religion whatever, and I am convinced that an active government and a zealous missionary may do wonders among them.

"Of our progress at Bencoolen I can now speak with more confidence than when I last wrote to you. The native school has fully answered my expectation, and

upwards of seventy children distinguished themselves at the last annual examination. I am now extending the plan so as to include a school of industry, in which the children will be instructed in the useful arts. The arrival of the missionaries is most fortunate, and I hope they will in time complete what we have so successfully begun—the progress, however, must necessarily be slow.

"I have lately made a very long stride towards the general civilization of the country, by the establishment of a property in the land, and the introduction of order and regulation on the principles of a fixed and steady government. You would I am sure be gratified with the details had I time to send them, but my health has not been very good for some weeks, and I dare not write much. Hereafter you shall have all the particulars, and it is not improbable some of them will find their way to the press. My attention is chiefly directed to agriculture, and I am endeavouring to improve the grain produce of the country. This is the basis of all national prosperity, and in countries like Sumatra constitutes and comprises all that is important. We have an Agricultural Society, of which I am President, in which we discuss, without restraint or reserve, all questions concerning the produce of the land and the condition of society. The latter is most peculiar, and not to be explained in few words. You have probably read Bowditch's Mission to Ashantee—I think I could give you a picture as striking, novel, and interesting; but this must be reserved for a future period.

"My settlement (Singapore) continues to thrive most wonderfully; it is all and every thing I could wish, and if no untimely fate awaits it, promises to become the emporium and the pride of the East. I learn with much regret the prejudice and malignity by which I am attacked at home, for the desperate struggle I have maintained against the Dutch. Instead of being supported by my own Government, I find them deserting me, and giving way in every instance to the unscrupulous and enormous assertions of the Dutch. All however is safe so far, and if matters are only allowed to remain as they are all will go well. The great blow has been struck, and though I may personally suffer in the scuffle the nation must be benefited—and I should not be surprised were the ministers to recall me, though I should on many accounts regret it at the present moment.

"Were the value of Singapore properly appreciated, I am confident that all England would be in its favour; it positively takes nothing from the Dutch and is to us everything; it gives us the command of China and Japan, with Siam and Cambodia, Cochin China, &c. to say nothing of the Islands themselves. What you observe with regard to British cottons through this port to China is a most important question—the affair is perfectly practicable and nothing more easy. I had framed a plan and am still bent upon the object, but until I know from England how I am to be supported in what I have so far done, it would be premature to suggest any speculation: confirm Singapore, and establish my authority in the Archipelago on

the principle I have suggested, and it will not be long before there is abundant demand for this description of our manufactures at least. Upwards of ten thousand tons of raw cotton are annually sent to China from our territories in India—why should we send our raw produce to encourage the industry of a foreign nation, at the expense of our own manufactures? If India cannot manufacture sufficiently cheap, England can; and it is idle to talk of the cheapness of our goods unless we can bring them into fair competition. I see no reason why China may not be in a great measure clothed from England—no people study cheapness so much; and if we can undersell them we have only to find the way of introducing the article. The monopoly of the East India Company in England, and of the Hong merchants in China, precludes the idea of anything like fair competition in our own ships, or at the port of Canton—not but the East India Company can and perhaps will assist as far as in them lies; but their ships are too expensive—the articles would also pass through the Hong merchants before they reach the general trade and commerce; and their intermediate profits would form another barrier.

"At Singapore, however, every object may be obtained. Let the commercial interest for the present drop every idea of a direct trade to China, and let them concentrate their influence in supporting Singapore, and they will do ten times better. As a free port, it is as much to them as the possession of Macao; and it is here their voyages

should finish. The Chinese themselves coming to Singapore and purchasing, they have the means of importing into the different ports of Canton, without the restraints and peculations of the Hong merchants. Many of the Chinese viceroys are themselves engaged clandestinely in extensive trade; and Singapore may, as a free port, thus become the connecting link and grand entrepôt between Europe, Asia, and China; it is, in fact, fast becoming so. Vessels come from China to Singapore in five days. All will, however, depend on its remaining under good government, and the port being regulated on the principles I have laid down; what these are, you may learn from * *, who is fully apprised of all my views and plans. These once confirmed from home, I shall lose no time in forwarding musters of the cloths required, and the most detailed information as to the extent and nature of the speculation.

"You ask again respecting the Brata Yudha, and I must return you the same answer as before. I have as little to do with Java now as you have; and were I to communicate with any one on that Island, it would be considered as treason: such is the hatred or dread which the present rulers of that country feel towards me.

"God knows they treat me unjustly; for although I have disputed and opposed their enormous designs in the Archipelago generally, I have never interfered with Java, or any of their lawful possessions; but their fears magnify the danger." * * * *

"Believe me, &c."

TO ——.

"*Bencoolen, July 26th,* 1820.

"I have just received from Bengal some of your letters, down to the 23rd of January: this last informs me of the appointment of a deputation from Holland, and a committee from the Court, to discuss all points respecting the Eastern Islands. This is as it should be, and augurs well: it looks as if, at last, the subject were about to be taken up seriously and comprehensively. I feel that I have done all and everything in my power to enable the authorities at home to act with justice, advantage, and decision.

"From Bengal my accounts, as late as June, are favourable. At Bencoolen I have not been inactive: all my energies are now centered in this little spot, and I am improving it rapidly; much can never be made of it, but it may, and ought to be better. Agriculture is what I most attend to, and no stone is left unturned to advance it.

"Sophia and my dear children are all well and happy."

TO MR. THOMAS MURDOCH.

"*Bencoolen, July* 22, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have been so bad a correspondent, that I fear it is too late to make apologies for my silence: the truth is, so few opportunities offer of writing direct to Europe, and so many urgent calls always press on my time at the

moment of a despatch, that I am too apt to defer, *sine die*, what may be put off till the morrow.

"You will, I am sure, be happy to hear that we continue in excellent health, and as yet unaffected by climate, and other drawbacks. Lady Raffles looks better at present than I ever knew her, and my *three* children are every thing that the fondest parent could wish. Charlotte and Leopold (your god-son) are both running about, and are as blessed in intelligence as disposition. Charlotte is all mildness, *Leo* all boldness; the youngest, who is usually called Marco Polo, after his godfather, Marsden, bids fair to follow in the same steps; and we are as happy a family as you can well conceive. One of Lady Raffles' brothers, from the Bengal army, is now with us on a visit, and we are daily expecting another to remain with us permanently. My sister and her little boy also form part of our family at present.

"Having, by the establishment of Singapore, done all that rested with me for the protection of our interests in the Archipelago, I have long given over all discussions with the Dutch authorities, and have now been for several months enjoying the quiet of home; so comfortable, indeed, have we managed to make ourselves, that we shall feel regret whenever the day comes that we are to leave Bencoolen, whether for better or worse. I know not how it is, but I have latterly become so much attached to the place, that it is daily becoming more interesting. The changes which I have been able to work have been so

satisfactory, and the attachment of the people is so great, that I have determined to make a strong effort for the improvement of the place. My early measures will, I fear, have hardly met the approval of our friend Marsden, as the principles on which I proceeded were different to those supported by him in his history; but, I think, were he to see the different face which the country has since put on, that he would be more inclined to admit their propriety. He reasons upon the state of the country before the destructive effects which have followed since the abolition of the Government; I put the state of things as I found them. However bad in principle the old system may have been, I am ready to admit that its effects were good, when contrasted with those which ensued from the introduction of what is generally considered to have been a more pure system. The fact is, the country has gone rapidly to ruin ever since it has been under the Bengal Government, and that from the most obvious causes of misgovernment and neglect: the affection of the people has been alienated, and the contempt with which they have been treated has produced its natural effects. I have had the task of restoring confidence, and recovering the country from a state of wildness and disorder into which it had run, to one of agricultural industry and subordination; the task has been difficult, and in some respects hazardous: but I have, at all events, carried the hearts of the people along with me, and, in directing their energies into proper channels, I find enough to occupy and amuse me. I

have assumed a new character among them, that of lord paramount: the Chiefs are my barons bold, and the people their vassals. Under this constitution, and by the establishment of a right of property in the soil, I am enabled to do wonders, and if time is only given to persevere in the same course for a few years, I think I shall be able to lay the foundation of a new order of things on a basis that shall not easily be shaken. My attention is, at present, principally directed to agriculture: an agricultural society has been established, of which I am President, in which we discuss, without reserve, all questions which relate to the produce of the soil and the people who cultivate it. Agriculture is every where the only solid basis of national prosperity; and in countries like Sumatra, it constitutes and comprises nearly all that is valuable and interesting.

"We are very anxiously awaiting the decision of the higher powers on the numerous questions referred to them. It appears to me impossible that Singapore should be given up, and yet the indecisive manner in which the ministers express themselves, and the unjust and harsh terms they use towards me, render it doubtful what course they will adopt. If they do not appoint me to Penang, it is probable that they will confine me to Bencoolen as a place of punishment—banishment it certainly is: but if even here they will leave me alone, I will make a paradise for myself.

"Bencoolen is certainly the very worst selection that

could have been made for a settlement; it is completely shut out of doors; the soil is, comparatively with the other Malay countries, inferior, the population scanty; neighbourhood, or passing trade, it has none; and, further, it wants a harbour, to say nothing of its long-reputed unhealthiness, and the miserable state of ruin into which it has latterly been allowed to run. Against all these drawbacks I yet think something can be done, and I am attempting it: the greater the difficulties to be encountered, and the greater the exertion required, the greater is the satisfaction to be obtained. I have never yet found any which repressed my energies; on the contrary, they have always increased in proportion to the occasion.

"I have found in the Sumatrans a very different people to the inhabitants of Java: they are, perhaps, a thousand years behind them in civilization, and, consequently, require a very different kind of government. In Java I advocated the doctrine of the liberty of the subject, and the individual rights of man: here I am the advocate for despotism. The strong arm of power is necessary to bring men together, and to concentrate them in societies; and there is a certain stage in which despotic authority seems the only means of promoting civilization. Sumatra is, in a great measure, peopled by innumerable petty tribes, subject to no general government, having little or no intercourse with each other, and man still remains inactive, sullen, and partaking of the gloom which pervades the forests by which he is surrounded. No European

power seems to think it worth its while to subdue the country by conquest, the shortest and best way of civilizing it; and, therefore, all that can be done is, to raise the importance of the Chiefs, and to assist in promoting the advance of feudal authority: this once established, and government being once firmly introduced, let the people be enlightened, and the energies which will be then called forth in regaining a portion of their liberties, will be the best pledge of their future character as a nation. At present the people are as wandering in their habits as the birds of the air, and until they are congregated and organized under something like authority, nothing can be done with them. I have, fortunately, become very popular among them; all classes seem persuaded that I want to *make a country,* and there is nothing which I wish or suggest which they are not anxious to do: they have already submitted to alterations and innovations which, in former times, it would have been dangerous to mention; and if ever anything is to be made of them, this is the time for the effort—the opportunity, neglected, will never recur.

" I fear I have troubled you with a very dull discussion on a very uninteresting subject, but I am anxious to prove to you that, however limited my field of action, I still contrive to find something within it worthy of my attention. Bencoolen will never become a place of great commercial or political importance, but it is the place where, at present, I can be most practically useful; and, instead of repining and resenting the slights and injuries

of the higher powers, I shall, for the next few years, content myself, if fixed here, with leaving a garden where I have found a wilderness.

"Lady Raffles unites with me in kindest regards to Mrs. Murdoch, and all the members of your family. I need not tell you of the esteem in which we hold you, and how often we anticipate the pleasure of once more meeting under the same roof, and in that same country where, spite of all its faults, the best of enjoyments are to be found.

"Politically, I have done all that could be expected from me in this country. If the authorities at home still demur, and are not only opposed to my plans but to my personal interests, it is clear that I can do no good to the cause here. I am at present bound and chained to Bencoolen, almost as closely as Napoleon is to Saint Helena.

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"I have now the satisfaction to state that Bencoolen and Singapore together are not as expensive as Bencoolen was before the change."

TO THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, August* 20, 1820.

"The best excuse I can offer for having allowed your letters to remain so long without acknowledgment, is that I have had nothing to communicate in reply, to justify the intrusion on your time and notice; and I have been ashamed to dwell on the never-failing subject of self, after

troubling the Duchess with so many uninteresting details on this particular.

* * * * *

"In the present alarming and important crisis, I fear the public attention will be too much occupied with affairs nearer home, to trouble itself much with what is going on in this part of the world; and yet I cannot help thinking that more extensive views, and a more enlarged policy with regard to the colonies, particularly in the East, would tend greatly to remove some of the burdens by which England seems to be at present overwhelmed.

* * * * *

"It is not necessary for me to detail to your Grace the dangers to which our commerce was exposed, or the disabilities under which it laboured previously to the occupation of Singapore. The Dutch, by reviving the principle on which their establishments in the East were originally founded, and acting upon the same with the increased power and means which their improved condition and rank among the nations of Europe gave them, had nearly succeeded in bringing under their control every native state within the Archipelago, and in excluding the British Indian trader from every port eastward of the Straits of Malacca and Sunda, while they secured to themselves the commerce of those important passes through which the trade to and from China must necessarily be carried on. It is not a little remarkable, that the establishment of this system of exclusion on the part of the Dutch

was much facilitated by the improved local resources of the colonies actually restored to them; and that it is to our having conquered and occupied Java, that they are mainly indebted for the means of obstructing and destroying our commerce; for had not that event taken place, they would not have had the pretext or the means of establishing anew an empire and system so diametrically opposed to our commercial interests, and which the policy of our Government, and the enterprise of our merchants, had so successfully combated and destroyed in the preceding century.

"The commerce, therefore, for which I have been *again* contending, and which I have endeavoured to secure by the occupation of Singapore, is no less important to us than it is our legitimate right. Within its narrowest limits, it embraces a fair participation in the general trade of the Archipelago and Siam, and in a more extensive view, is intimately connected with that of China and Japan. We should not forget that it was to the Eastern Islands that the attention of Europeans was first directed, and that it was in these seas the contest for the commerce of the East was carried on and decided; that it was this trade which contributed to the power and splendour of Portugal, and at a later date raised Holland from insignificance and obscurity to power and rank among the nations of Europe.

* * * * *

"Notwithstanding the uncertainty which must prevail

pending the decision of the higher powers in Europe, and the circumstances of its being still held solely on my personal responsibility, against all the efforts of our own government as well as that of the Dutch, the settlement has advanced in the most rapid manner. From an insignificant fishing village, the port is now surrounded by an extensive town, and the population does not fall short of ten or twelve thousand souls, principally Chinese. The number is daily increasing, and the trade of the place has already induced the establishment of several mercantile houses of respectability.

"Should the decision from home prove favourable, I hope to proceed there in the course of next year, for the purpose of establishing such municipal and port regulations as may provide for the increasing population and trade. Should it be otherwise, I shall probably remain quietly at Bencoolen, where I am not without employment, and where, though the field will be less extensive, and the immediate object somewhat different, there is much to be done. Bencoolen being in a great measure shut out from the general trade of the Eastern Islands, and having no trade of its own, the first and main point to be attended to is its agriculture; and I am now busily engaged in clearing forests, draining morasses, and cultivating the soil.

"I hope the present year the grain produce will be increased at least two-fold, and go on in a geometrical proportion for many years to come, until we become an

exporting rather than an importing country, Every man is obliged to cultivate sufficient grain for his own subsistence, either with his own hands or his proper funds; and I have already had the satisfaction of seeing a large portion of the people turn from habits of idleness to those of industry and activity. By establishing a right of property in the soil, and giving the preference to the actual cultivator, an extraordinary competition has been excited, and my time is now engaged for many hours in the day in settling boundaries and claims to land, which a year ago may be said to have been without owner or claimant.

"But it is not to the grain cultivation alone that I am directing my attention: I am attempting to introduce the cultivation and manufacture of sugar on the same principle as in the West Indies, and to extend the coffee, pepper, and other plantations.

"I find that a sugar-work may be established here at less than one-sixth of the expense which must be incurred at Jamaica; that our soil is superior, our climate better, and, as we are neither troubled with hurricanes nor yellow fever, that our advantages are almost beyond comparison greater. For instance, in an estate calculated to afford two hundred or two hundred and fifty tons of sugar annually, the land alone would cost eight thousand or ten thousand pounds in Jamaica, while here it may be had for nothing. The negroes would there cost ten or twelve thousand pounds more, while here labourers may be obtained on contract, or by the month, with a very moderate

advance, at wages not higher than necessary for their subsistence. The other expenses of a West India plantation are estimated at ten thousand pounds more; so that before any return can be received, an outlay of at least thirty thousand pounds must be made. Here about five thousand pounds may be considered to cover every expense, including thirteen hundred pounds for machinery from England, and every outlay before the sugar is made. A gentleman has come over from Jamaica, and is establishing a very extensive plantation. He is now engaged in planting the cane, and, in about a year hence, he will commence his sugar. Water-mills, &c., have been applied for from Liverpool, and if the undertaking should turn out favourably, as I have no doubt it will, I trust it will not be long before his example is generally followed. Coffee and other tropical productions may of course be cultivated here with equal advantages; and, considering the present state of capital and labour in England, I cannot help regretting that the public attention is not turned to the advantages which might result from colonizing this part of Sumatra. Our advantages over the West Indies are not only in soil, climate, and labour, but also in constant markets. The West Indies always look to the European market, and that alone: here we have the India and China markets, besides an extensive local demand. The only thing against us is the freight, which is of course somewhat higher, on account of the greater distance; but if from the West Indies the planter could

afford to send his sugar home at ten pounds per ton, war-freight, he may surely pay five pounds per ton, peace-freight, which is the present rate. In consequence of the advantages of this island being unknown, many British subjects have established sugar and coffee plantations in Java, and are, in consequence, now enriching a foreign colony by their labour and capital, while we are suffering from the want of both.

"The present regulations of the East India Company are adverse to colonization; but under the existing circumstances of the country, I should think that body would not oppose any feasible plan which could be devised for affording relief. The Eastern Islands are so differently circumstanced to the continent of India, that the principle which is considered to apply against colonization in the latter, does not hold good in the former. It is here by colonization, by European talents and Chinese labour alone, that the resources of the country can be brought forward, whereas in India the country is for the most part cultivated to the highest pitch, and occupied by an industrious race of inhabitants.

"I much fear the expectations of advantageous colonization at the Cape will be disappointed. It is sending poverty to feed on poverty; and the most that can be expected by the settlers, after a life of toil and misery, is a bare subsistence. The climate, it is true, is more congenial to an European constitution, but this is all: in every other respect we have the advantage, not only over the

Cape, but over the West Indies, America, New Holland, or any other place that could be named—Java always excepted. The climate is certainly warm and unfavourable to Europeans, but I believe I may safely affirm, that it is the most pleasant, if not the most healthy within the tropics. In the mountainous districts the heat is by no means great, and I have already established a regular supply of potatoes, which are extensively cultivated in the interior district, and which previous to our arrival were always imported. Wheat also grows, and Indian corn may be cultivated with great advantage: our cattle may easily be increased, and the breed improved; and water-carriage is to be found in almost every direction, in the numerous rivers which descend from the central mountains to the sea.

"The principle, however, on which colonists settle here must be very different to what it appears to be at the Cape; here nothing can be done without capital, everything with it. Capitalists in England must either send out their relatives, or lend their money on mortgage to some active and intelligent planter. Any young man of steady habits and common sense, whose father cannot obtain employment for him at home, but who can advance him from four to five thousand pounds, may thus establish himself, and create an estate of three or four thousand pounds a-year for his descendants. These principals in the concern would require under-surveyors, coopers, distillers, writers, &c., and each estate would give employ-

ment to several Europeans. The Chinese and natives would be the manual labourers, as the negroes are in the West Indies.

"Politically, the colonization of that part of Sumatra which belongs to the British Government would be very important, as it would enable us to make a stand against the Dutch encroachments. They are colonizing Java very fast; and, notwithstanding our power on the continent of India, they might easily overrun and occupy, to our exclusion, every possession between the Straits of Sunda and China.

"I have to apologize to your Grace for these hasty remarks, but they are drawn forth by the regret that the forty thousand paupers sent to the Cape had not, on a different principle and more enlightened plan, found their way here, where, independent of the advantages I have already pointed out, they might have assisted in extending our spice gardens, and dragging the golden ore from our mines.

"Whatever may be done towards paying off the national debt, or reducing the interest, we must still have recourse to extensive emigration, and the sooner we open our colonies to the settler the better. If we delay too long, much of the capital and industry will have found their way into foreign countries, and, by assisting our rivals, check our own speculations.

"The West India merchants and proprietors might at one time have inveighed against colonization in the East,

and I know they were decidedly opposed to the retention of Java on this account: but the progress in Sumatra will be slow, and the abolition of the slave trade has so effectually destroyed their prospects, that they must necessarily retrograde, so that their opposition will be of less weight. At all events, what is done in Sumatra will take nothing from them direct; and, as far as I can judge, they would find it more to their advantage to embark themselves and their machinery, and change their residence to the East. The superior advantages there would soon repay the expenses of transport."

TO W. MARSDEN, ESQ.

"*Bencoolen, August 27th*, 1820.

"We are now thinking of delaying the publication of the plants until a more general view of the natural history of these Islands can be taken, and we think they might form an advantageous appendix to a work which we purpose to entitle 'An Introduction to the Natural History of the Eastern Islands;' the frame-work of which has been completed, but which will require perhaps a year or two for the details.

"I have just been closing a large consignment of subjects in spirits and skeletons.

"You will have learned that the cassowary is not a native of Java; it is not found west of the Moluccas, and in them I believe is confined exclusively to one of the large Islands, either Halhambipa or Ceram, I forget which.

"I have written to you so fully lately, that I am not aware that I have anything of moment left to communicate, except the discovery of the lake in the Lampung country, at the back of Croee, which has been visited and examined in the last four months. The length of the lake is about twelve miles, the breadth eight; the population is thin upon its banks, and but few boats. None of these carry sails: the people have a superstitious aversion to hoisting them, under an apprehension that the sails will invite the wind, upset the boat, or, in other words, that they will raise the devil by it.

"I have made a sketch of the shape and position of this lake, and have sent another party with compasses, &c., to correct our former observations, and also to collect minerals in its vicinity, and the best information attainable of the country beyond it.

"I have had an opportunity of examining the third lake, namely, that of Korintki.

"The only important lake not yet ascertained is that of Toba, in the Batta country. The moment I can well leave Marlborough, I purpose making an incursion into the Batta country to ascertain this and many other interesting points, and if I am not eaten on the journey I have no doubt the results will repay the labour. I am at present confined to Marlborough, on account of the positive orders of the Court of Directors, who would seem inclined to limit my perambulations as much as possible, lest they should excite the jealousy of our friendly allies the

Dutch: but for this, you should long before this time have had an account of the sources of most of the principal rivers. I do not think the source of the Siak river can be correctly laid down, and with respect to the Tulang Bawang river I am still more puzzled, and am much in want of scientific and even practical assistance.

"I have applied to the Bengal government respecting the want of surveys on this coast above Tappanooly, and I hope that authority will be inclined to attend to the subject. In the mean time I am collecting all the information I can.

"I am at present deeply engaged in the details of Bencoolen, taking statistical accounts of our population, &c. I propose printing them, as the only means of securing the safety of the record, and turning the public attention of the place to the further prosecution of similar inquiries hereafter. They will furnish excellent data a hundred years hence to judge of the advance or decline of the place. Our first agricultural report is finished, and I think you will not only admit the facts, but concur in the reasoning.

"Lady Raffles and the children continue to enjoy excellent health. She desires to be most kindly remembered to Mrs. Marsden. I am obliged to insist on her avoiding writing. Your godson is now three months old, and does credit to Bencoolen.

"I fear I shall have often been very tedious in my repetitions: the fact is, that I have always so much public

business in hand on the departure of a ship, and the notice is generally so short, that I have no time to write a connected letter, or keep copies of what I do write.

"The population of the Batta country far surpasses my expectation; it can hardly be less than a million and a half.

"The progress of the Padries, as they are called, has been surprising, and the countries they have ravaged will excite your astonishment. I am collecting details for a full account of their progress.

* * * * *

"The spice plantations have done wonders.

"The statistical returns confirm your opinion of the infecundity of the people, as they show an uncommon dearth of children; but they, at the same time, attest the healthiness of the country by the very small number of deaths.

"I have not been very well lately, and am rather apprehensive I am not doomed to last much longer in a tropical climate. Unless, therefore, the public authorities at home turn a more favourable eye towards me, I shall think of returning at the close of my five years.

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"I am afraid, my dear Sir, you will long ere this have been tired with this old and long story; at all events, I hope you will consider it an earnest of my desire to prove to you that I am not inattentive to the real interests of the place entrusted to my immediate charge.

"Lady Raffles and my dear children continue to enjoy

excellent health. Marco Polo thrives apace, and is everything you could wish."

The spice gardens, of which there were now many in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen, added greatly to its interest and beauty; Sir Stamford's residence in the country was twelve miles from the town, and though on first making the attempt to persuade people to live out of the settlement, no servant could ever be induced to venture three miles after sunset, at this time (1823) there were various country-houses on the road to Permattam Ballam, (his country-house,) all of them surrounded by plantations. The clove trees as an avenue to a residence are perhaps unrivalled; their noble height, the beauty of their form, the luxuriance of their foliage, and, above all, the spicy fragrance with which they perfume the air, produce, in driving through a long line of them, a degree of exquisite pleasure only to be enjoyed in the clear light atmosphere of these latitudes.

"*Bencoolen, September 23rd*, 1820.

"I am doing more good here and at Singapore, at Nattal Tappanooly, and Nias. I am making a country and a garden out of a wilderness, and I trust I am laying the foundation of the future civilization of Sumatra: the independence of the Eastern commerce I have already established. My letters from Bengal say that all my plans are *lauded* at home, but others are *larded* for them,

and that it is feared I must limit my recompense to the gratifying sense of my public services. My friends say, 'Do not, however, allow any penury in your superiors to damp your zeal; for you can at all times show to whose intelligence we are indebted for the civilization and independence of the Eastern countries.' Are they right?

"My attention is at this moment directed to the Island of Nias, lying off Nattal, a little to the north of Padang: it contains a population of from one to two hundred thousand active, intelligent, and industrious people, and is the granary of this coast. The people are heathens, and in great want of civilization and improvement, and I contemplate a fine field for philanthropic exertions.

"Sophia will write you all domestic news. For myself I do not feel my health so good as it was, and I fear I cannot at the outside remain with any comfort above a year or two longer in India: I therefore think you will see us in 1823 or 1824 at farthest."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, October 9th*, 1820.

"We are still remaining very quietly at Bencoolen, and I fear the detail of an agricultural life, which mine is at present, is too monotonous to afford many incidents to interest you at such a distance, were I to attempt any description of my present occupations. After having drawn together all the wild animals of the forests, and collected the rich plants of the mountains, I am now en-

deavouring to tame the one and cultivate the other, and have undertaken the arduous task of converting a wilderness into a garden. I have established a law, that every man shall sow grain enough for the consumption of himself and family. I am making new roads and water-courses, regulating the police of my villages, abolishing slavery and bond-service, forcing the idle to be industrious and the rogues to be honest. But all this would not be half so interesting in description as a Batta feast, or the discovery of some new and wild race.

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"In my last letter I intimated to your Grace that I am now turning my thoughts homewards; one-half of my period of banishment has certainly passed over, and in 1823, or the beginning of 1824, you will certainly see us. I know of nothing that would induce me to remain longer. My health, I am sorry to say, is not so good as it was. I feel the effects of climate very seriously, and on this account, if I had no other inducement, I should hasten home. In a public point of view, all I wish is, to remain long enough to see my settlement at Singapore firmly established, and lay something like a substantial foundation for the future civilization of Sumatra: two or three years will be sufficient for this, and then I shall have an object at home in endeavouring to uphold and further what will have been so far proceeded on. My great object, the independence of the Eastern Islands, has been attained.

"Lady Raffles and my dear children continue to enjoy excellent health. Leopold is the wonder of all who see him. Charlotte speaks English very distinctly, and finds no difficulty in Malay and Hindostanee, and it is curious to observe how she selects her language to the different natives. To us or her nurse she always speaks English: to a Malay she is fluent in his language, and in an instant begins Hindostanee to a Bengalee: if she is sent with a message, she translates it at once into the language of the servant she meets with. She is only two years and a half old; such is the tact of children for acquiring languages. She always dines with us when we are alone, and the cloth is no sooner removed, than in bounces Master Leopold, singing and laughing, and occupying his place. Mr. Silvio, the *Siamang*, is then introduced, and I am often accused of paying more attention to the monkey than the children. This last gentleman is so great a favourite, and in such high spirits, that I hope to take him to England with the family, and introduce him to my little friend Anna Maria."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Bencoolen, October* 9, 1820.

"I have now the pleasure to send you the third paper on our Malayan plants. These are only to be considered notices made at the moment, where we have not the advantage of reference to late publications, or communication with scientific friends. The paper contains an account of the nepenthes, sago, camphor, several new

mangifera, many ligna vitæ, the melastomas, &c. You will recognize many of your old friends, particularly the kayu gadis, or virgin tree.

"Under Styphelia you will find an interesting observation respecting Singapore. We have not half gathered the rich harvest which surrounds our settlement, but I think you will give me credit for what has been done. I am now expecting an abundant supply of new matter from Pulo Nias and the northern parts of Sumatra; and I hope, in the course of next year, again to visit Singapore, and pick up something on the Eastern coast in addition to our present botanical stores."

TO THOMAS MURDOCH, ESQ.

"*Bencoolen, October* 9, 1820.

"As my letter of July 22d was written at a time when I was very much hurried, I am anxious to correct any hasty expression I may have used, and to explain more fully my reasons for now becoming so strong an advocate for despotic authority. There appear to be certain stages and gradations through which society must run its course to civilization, and which can no more be overleaped or omitted, than men can arrive at maturity without passing through the gradations of infancy and youth. Independence is the characteristic of the savage state; but while men continue disinterested, and with little mutual dependence on each other, they can never become civilized.

"The acquisition of power is necessary to unite them

and to organize society, and it would perhaps be difficult to instance a nation which has risen from barbarism without having been subjected to despotic authority in some shape or other. The most rapid advances have probably been made, when great power has fallen into enlightened and able hands; in such circumstances nations become wealthy and powerful, refinement and knowledge are diffused, and the seeds of internal freedom are sown in due time, to rise and set limits to that power whenever it may engender abuse. Freedom thus founded on knowledge and a consideration of reciprocal rights, is the only species that deserves the name, and it would be folly to conceive the careless independence of the savage as deserving of equal respect. In order to render an uncivilized people capable of enjoying true liberty, they must first feel the weight of authority, and must become acquainted with the mutual relations of society.

"Whether the power to which they bow be the despotism of force, or the despotism of superior intellect, it is a step in their progress which cannot be passed over. Knowledge is power, and in the intercourse between enlightened and ignorant nations, the former must and will be the rulers. Instead, therefore, out of an affected respect for the customs of savages, of abstaining from all interference, and endeavouring to perpetuate the institutions of barbarism, ought it not rather to be our study to direct to the advancement and improvement of the

people, that power and influence with which our situation and character necessarily invests us?

"Power we do and have possessed; we have employed it in the most arbitrary of all modes, in the exaction of forced services and in the monopoly of the produce of the country. While, as if in mockery, we have professed to exercise no interference with the native administration of the country, we have made ourselves the task-masters of the people, and with a false humility have refused to be their governors. Ought we not to discard this empty pretence? The people are now living without a head to direct them, for we have destroyed the power of the native Chiefs; both reason and humanity would urge us to take the management into our own hands, and to repair the mischief of an hundred years, by affording them a regular and organised government. Instead of compelling their services for our own commercial monopoly, while we leave them in their original ignorance and barbarism, and by reducing them to the condition of slaves, shut the door of improvement against them, ought we not to endeavour to direct their industry to objects beneficial to themselves, and by securing to them the benefits of their labour, raise them by degrees in the scale of civilization?

"The case of Bencoolen is altogether different from what it was in Java at the time of our occupation of it, arising entirely from the comparatively higher state of civilization to which the inhabitants of that Island had attained: and even then, in some of the mountainous

and less civilized districts, it was questionable whether the period had yet arrived when the people were competent to advance by their own unaided efforts, and they were therefore still left in some measure under the immediate sway of their Chiefs. By far the larger portion of the inhabitants of Java had already passed that stage, and were thereby prepared for entering on the enjoyment of a higher and improved condition.

"I have troubled you with the above observations, that you may be prepared for the arguments in which I found my assumption of sovereign power. Tyrants seldom want an excuse, and in becoming a despot, I am desirous to give you mine. Hereafter, when I have an opportunity of explaining to you more fully the real state of the country, I shall easily convince you that my premises are correct. Our friend Marsden will, I think, admit at once that they are so; but the course I am pursuing is so opposite to his notions, as expressed in his History, that I despair of carrying him along with me without a struggle. I know he is kind enough to place great confidence in me, and to be fully satisfied with my motives; but I fear that he looks upon some of my plans as visionary and speculative. They may be so, and I am willing to admit that they are not without the latter quality, but I cannot be one of your tacit spectators of barbarism. It is well to say, let things remain as they are—they have gone on well enough heretofore, why introduce new speculations of improvement while the people are content? This might

perhaps have been said, if not acted upon, if the thing had been possible. Some few years since, in England, when the people were in the enjoyment of more substantial happiness than recent reforms, or attempts to introduce them, are likely to prove, England may have been said, if not to have reached the summit, at all events, to have attained an eminence above all other nations; and, in all further attempts, we were necessarily without the aid of experience. But can this be said of Sumatra, or more particularly of Bencoolen, where the people are at least a thousand years behind their neighbours the Javanese? Surely not.

"If you would know the extent of my speculations, I would beg you to contrast the present conditions of Java and Sumatra. From the hand of God, Sumatra has perhaps received higher advantages and capabilities than Java, but no two countries form a more decided contrast in the use which has been made of them by man. While Sumatra remains in a great part covered with its primeval forests, and exhibiting but scattered traces of human industry, Java has become the granary and the garden of the East. In the former, we find man inactive, sullen, and partaking of the gloom of the forests; while in the latter he is active and cheerful. They are considered to have sprung from the same general stock, and the Strait which separates them is not twenty miles across. How are we to account for the difference?

"It is not likely that I shall give the Dutch credit for

having had much share in the improvement of Java, but they are not without some claims in this respect. We must seek the causes elsewhere. I shall not now attempt to enter into them, but I wish much to remove the idea that Sumatra is by nature less fertile than Java. Wretched as our west coast districts may be, I can affirm that the soil of the interior is for the most part rich and productive. No country is better watered; its navigable rivers afford a striking contrast to the want of them in Java; the population cannot well fall short of three millions, and in some parts agriculture is equally advanced with Java. We have, unfortunately, selected the very worst spots, and adopted the very worst system of government—and to this alone should be attributed our failure. I ask no more than a *carte blanche* for five years to make Sumatra more important—more valuable to England than even Java would have been.

"By opening the communication between Bencoolen and Palembang, the grand navigable river of the latter place would be the outlet for all the rich produce of the interior, including the spices of Bencoolen. The Jambi, Siak, and other rivers to the northward would again be opened as the great channels of trade, while our stations on the west coast, which I would still maintain, would be our military posts, whence all the rivers and all the interior of the country would be commanded. I would open a high road along the centre of the Island, from one end to the other, and the rivers should be my transverse path-

ways. I would assume supremacy without interfering with the just independence of other states. I would be the protector of the native states. I would, in fact, re-establish the ancient authority of Menangkabu, and be the great Mogul of the Island. I would, without much expense, afford employment for twenty or thirty thousand English colonists, and I would soon give employment to as much British tonnage, and as many British seamen as are now engaged in the West India trade.

"In short, what would I not, and indeed what could I not do, were I free to act, and encouraged rather than abused?

"This, I am willing to admit, is all very speculative, and I am sorry to be obliged to add also very visionary, for there is no chance of my ever attempting anything of the kind—the time has gone by when I had the spirit for it. I have met with so much injustice and ill-usage on the part of the authorities at home, that the charm is gone, my confidence is lost, and I only think of these changes as what might have been, had circumstances been more favourable.

"I am now confining myself strictly to our own petty states on the coast, and surely what I am doing in them is rather practical than speculative. What I am doing will not only benefit these districts immediately, but may enable some subsequent authority, less harassed by an unconfiding government at home, to enlarge the sphere for the extension of British principles: I shall be content with what is immediate and practical.

"I am afraid, after all, that I shall have failed to prove to you, that, in advocating despotism, I am the true and steady friend of national freedom. If so, I must rely on your friendship to be satisfied with my assertion; if, on the contrary, you admit my arguments, pray enforce them with Mr. Marsden, as I would rather have his concurrence than the first authority the British legislature could give: he will not approve without being convinced; but if he still thinks me speculative, it may be sufficient to say that I have relinquished the only speculation which deserved the name of one, and am now a plain practical man.

"Pray make our united regards, &c.

"To prove to you that when I assume and advocate dospotic authority, I do not forget that men have rights, it may be sufficient to observe that I have abolished the whole system of slaves and slave-debtors, so intimately interwoven with what are called the native institutions of the country; that a time has been fixed at which the condition of actual slavery shall cease to exist; and that for the system of slave-debtors, I have substituted one of free contract, and this with the full and hearty concurrence of the native Chiefs and the European population."

TO ———.

"*Bencoolen, October* 27, 1820.

"The enclosed letters are to convey most melancholy tidings.

* * * * *

"The affliction they announce is a most severe one; we have lost poor Robert Hull, and now mourn his death in all the agony of grief and wretchedness. He died on the 24th instant, after a severe illness of five days, which he bore with exemplary fortitude and resignation. The immediate cause of his death was inflammation of the bowels; but he never recovered from the illness occasioned by the fatigue and exposure of the last campaign, and on account of which he was absent from his station. Poor Sophia and Nilson attended him day and night during his illness and last moments, and have suffered a severe shock; but the first and most violent effects are now subsiding, and I hope in a short time they will gain strength and spirits by quiet and resignation.

"Everything here is going on very quietly, the place manifestly improving fast, and a spirit of industry and activity beginning to supersede the dull lethargic torpor which so lately prevailed.

"The attention of every one is directed to agriculture, and I find my little experience in Java of some importance in directing the labours of the people of this coast, who have still so much to learn from their neighbours."

CHAPTER XVII.

Sir Stamford forms an establishment on the Island of Nias for the suppression of slavery—Sufficient spices raised at Bencoolen for the supply of Great Britain—Description of the Island of Nias—Its population, exports, slaves—Period of proposed return to England—Poggie Islands—Description of the people—Death of Sir Stamford's eldest boy—Death of Captain Auber—Missionaries engaged in printing Malay Bible—Illness of another child—Intended publication on commercial prospects—Deaths of two children—Youngest child sent to England—Retired life—Expectation of Mr. Canning as Governor-General—Sir Stamford's opinion of the state of England—Arrival of a party for the measurement of the pendulum at the Equator—Death of Dr. Jack—Voyage to Singapore.

THE suppression of slavery was never lost sight of by Sir Stamford Raffles; it was connected with all his views, political or commercial; and when he found it prevailed to a serious extent in an island (Pulo Nias) in the immediate neighbourhood of the British power, he was anxious to make some effort to relieve the inhabitants from this oppression; and as the English Resident at Tappanooly and Nattal had always maintained a small establishment in the island, it appeared an object of easy attainment. The following letters contain references to this subject:—

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, June* 22, 1821.

"We have an ugly report by the way of Batavia, that poor Sir Joseph Banks is no more! I fear it is too true, as by our last accounts he appeared nearly exhausted. It was an event for which I ought to have been prepared; but, notwithstanding this, his death has been a severe shock to me, as it must have been to all who knew him, and could appreciate his inestimable value. When shall we meet his like again, and by whom will his place be supplied? He has left a sad blank. To fill his place as he filled it is impossible. A successor, however, must be appointed; and if talents, fortune, and entire devotion to the object cannot be found united in one individual, rank must supply the deficiency.

* * * * *

"I am very much afraid that the death of Sir Joseph will go far to break the heart of the Society. Many of the old and sterling members will, I am sure, feel the loss most deeply, and want heart to attend the future meetings. Much, however, nay everything, will depend on the character of the new President.

"I have a long account to send your Grace of my discoveries in Pulo Nias. I believe I formerly told you that I was engaged in some arrangements for bringing that island under British authority. I am now happy to say that I have succeeded; the people have unreservedly become the subjects of Great Britain. As this is an island

almost unknown, and I may at least claim the merit of first visiting and exploring its interior, some particulars may not be uninteresting, though I have not time to say many words on them at present.

" The island is in sight of Sumatra, and seen by most ships passing. I find the population to exceed 230,000 souls, on a surface of about 1500 square miles, which gives a population of about 153 to the square mile; the country most highly cultivated, the soil rich, and the people the finest people, without exception, that I have yet met with in the East. They are fair, and a strong, athletic, active race; industrious, ingenious, and intelligent, and forming a striking contrast to their neighbours on the opposite coast of Sumatra. What has most astonished me is, the high degree (comparatively) of civilization to which they have attained, without communication from without. We have no trace, no idea whence or how the island became peopled; the people themselves say, a man and woman were first sent from heaven, from whom they are all descended. Their language, their habits, their character, and institutions, are strikingly different from all others with which we are acquainted. Hinduism never found its way to their shores, and only a few Mahomedans, traders, are here and there to be found on the coast, but the religion itself has made no way.

" They dwell in excellent and commodious houses, the interior of which are laid out with neatness, not devoid of elegance; streets are regularly formed and paved, with

avenues of trees, and stone stairs to the pinnacles of the different hills, on which their villages are mostly situated, embosomed in the richest foliage imaginable. The slopes of the hills and the valleys are covered with one continued sheet of the richest cultivation, and there is not a forest tree standing in the island; all have disappeared before the force of industry. To each village are attached stone baths, appropriated to the different sexes, which remind us of Roman luxuries. They wear a profusion of gold and other ornaments, than which nothing can be conceived more original. I have a large collection now before me, and only wish I could at once transfer them to Park Lane.

"We have discovered an excellent harbour, and made two military stations merely on account of the flag; and hereafter I hope to have much satisfactory employment.

"I am at this moment called away on particular business."

TO ————.

"I believe I may now affirm with safety, that Bencoolen alone will be able to supply Great Britain with all the spices she requires. You may judge of the interest of this kind of cultivation, when I inform you that the annual clear produce or profit of an acre of nutmeg-trees is not less than ten pounds sterling, and that we are covering the whole land with our parks of them. Nothing can be more beautiful than an avenue of clove-

trees; the luxuriant foliage and the fragrance of the air make it charming.

"My attention has been drawn to the Island of Nias, which is situated opposite the settlement of Tappanooly and Nattal, and on which the Resident has always maintained a small establishment.

* * * * *

"It is quite unnecessary for me to enlarge on the result of the mission, from which we learnt that the population consisted of not less than 230,000 souls; that the state of cultivation was such as to furnish an export of 12,000 bags of rice annually; and that the number of slaves taken from Nias in each year exceeded 1500!

"The circumstances that attended the latter inhuman traffic were of the most appalling nature, and no less revolting than those which attached to the same abominable commerce on the coast of Africa.

"The unhappy victims, torn by violence from their friends and country, are delivered, pinioned hand and foot, to the dealers in human flesh, and kept bound during the whole course of the voyage. Instances have occurred, where the captives have seized a moment of liberty to snatch up the first weapon within their reach, stab all whom they encountered, and concluded the scene by leaping overboard, and seeking deliverance from their persecutors in a watery grave!"

* * * * *

Frequent appeals made from the Chiefs of Pulo Nias,

and the peculiar connexion which had always subsisted between that Island and the districts in the west of Sumatra, induced Sir Stamford to appoint Mr. Prince and Dr. Jack to inquire into the real circumstances of the case, in the hope of adjusting existing differences, and providing for the immediate tranquillity of the country, and at the same time to collect such information as would enable the higher authorities to decide on the future course proper to be pursued. It was impossible to witness the constant scenes of rapine and plunder, to which the coast of the Island had so long been a prey, from the inroads of pirates and slave dealers, after the express injunctions of the legislature, and the principle so universally declared to actuate the civilized nations of the world. It was notorious that Pulo Nias, although for a long period of years nominally enjoying the protection of the English flag, was still the most abundant, and almost the only source of the supply of slaves on the coast, and that notwithstanding the prohibition against importation at Bencoolen and elsewhere, it was impossible to prevent it entirely. It was also well known that Pulo Nias was the principal resort of the French cruisers for refreshment and refitment, and whence they commanded the whole coast of Sumatra during many periods of the late war. An undisputed supremacy of the Island was important in a political point of view, as it may be considered to complete the command of the coast from Acheen to Nattal. Another subject for consideration was the probability of

the natives being easily converted to the Christian religion, and that if the favourable opportunity were neglected, they would be likely to fall into all the superstitions of the Mahomedans.

The following is from an account of this Island furnished to Sir Stamford Raffles by Dr. Jack and Mr. Prince.

" Pulo Nias is situated under the first degree of north latitude, and runs in a north-west and south-east direction, throughout 5° of latitude and 48° of longitude. The villages are mostly situated on the very pinnacle of the hills, yet they are always embosomed in cocoa-nut and fruit trees of the greatest luxuriance, while the land beneath them is devoted to rice, sweet potatoes, and other articles of supply.

" The cultivation of rice is carried on both in sawahs and ladangs, according to the nature of the ground, the latter prevailing in the more hilly parts, and the former along the course of the principal rivers. The returns from sawahs are stated to be above a hundred-fold; from ladangs the returns are about forty-fold; and such is the singular fertility of the soil, that they are again fit for clearing in from five to ten years. The greater part of the rice is raised for exportation, the inhabitants raising but little for themselves, and preferring sweet potatoes, yams, plantains, &c., for their own consumption. They breed great numbers of fowls and hogs, which are chiefly fed on cocoa-nuts; cattle and buffaloes are not indigenous,

but have been introduced at some of the Malay settlements; cocoa-nut trees abound along all the shores; pepper has only lately become an article of cultivation among the Achenese settlers, but it promises to extend rapidly: samples of coffee appear also of very good quality.

"The principal exports of Pulo Nias (exclusive of slaves) are, rice to the extent of about 12,000 bags per annum; oil, about 7000 or 8000 bamboos; cocoa-nuts in great quantities; pepper at present about 800 peculs, but the quantity increasing; with some minor articles, the total value of which may be about 45,000 rupees. The payments on account of slaves have not fallen short of from 70 to 80,000 rupees a-year; making the total value of the exports about 120,000 rupees. The returns for this are almost entirely in the following articles of merchandize:—blue salampores, white mamoodies and gurrahs, kerwahs, iron, brass ware, steel, gold-dust, coarse china-ware, &c. &c. Salt is manufactured in small quantities on various parts of the coast, by the method of pouring salt water on burning wood, and is sold at the rate of three bamboos for a dollar. It is very sparingly used by the Nias people, probably on account of the enormous price; but it is not unlikely that it would come into more general use, were they supplied at a cheaper rate by importation.

"In the northern division of the island, the trade has been principally in the hands of the Malays and Achenese who have settled at the various ports, and formed alliances

and connexions with the Nias Chiefs. This connexion has subsisted for a considerable length of time, some of the early settlements having been formed about sixty or eighty years ago; and frequent intermarriages have so united their interests, that the Nias Chiefs are generally guided by their Malay friends in all their intercourse with foreigners: they have never, however, yielded any part of their territorial rights, or admitted their interference in their internal affairs. The efforts of the Malays have been solely directed to engrossing the commerce, which they have in a great measure effected, and the Nias people rarely attempt to dispose of their produce at first hand. The kind of monopoly they have thus succeeded in establishing diminishes the profit to the grower on the one hand, at the same time that it enhances the price to the buyer.

"In the southern districts, on the contrary, there are no foreign settlers, and the Nias people themselves carry on a direct traffic with boats and vessels from all parts of the Sumatran coast. The consequence is, there is more wealth, and the people appear to have made a greater advance in the arts of life.

"The Achenese have generally been found the most troublesome intruders; wherever they have been allowed to settle, their aim has been to foment dissensions and troubles, with a view to their own independence, and the more easily gratifying their rapacity. They are the principal agents in the slave-trade, and are not

very scrupulous in the means they resort to for procuring them.

"The Nias slaves are highly valued throughout the East, for their industry, ingenuity, and fidelity; and observation has shown that these are no less the characteristics of the people in their native country. The intercourse with them has given us a most favourable impression of their native character, and of their capabilities of improvement. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of a secluded situation, the absence of all instruction and example, and the insecurity arising from a state of internal division, they have drawn forth, by their industry, the resources of their fertile country to a greater degree than has yet been effected by any of their neighbours on the coast of Sumatra.

"The extent of their grain export would alone be sufficient evidence of their industry; but the same spirit pervades their whole economy. Their towns and villages, placed on elevated situations, with a view to defence, are clean and neat; the ascent is facilitated by a long stair or causeway, regularly built of stones, and shaded by a row of fruit trees on each side; and the principal street itself is often paved in a manner that would do credit to European skill. Their houses are built of wood in the most substantial manner, raised upon strong posts, and their interior is arranged with a neatness not devoid of elegance. Attached to every village are two enclosed baths, built of stones, appropriated to

the different sexes; any trespass by a man on that belonging to the females subjects the offender to a heavy fine. In the manufacture of their arms, clothing, and gold ornaments, (of which they wear a great many,) they display great ingenuity and considerable taste. In their persons they are a handsome, athletic race; their warlike habits, and perhaps the nature of their country, give them an activity and vigour of frame unusual to the inhabitants of tropical countries. They are not addicted to any practice of intoxication or gambling. Their address is frank and open; they are keen in their commercial dealings, fond of gain, but scrupulously exact in the fulfilment of their engagements.

"The country is divided into a number of tribes and districts, whose Chiefs maintain a perfect independence of each other, and between many of whom ancient feuds and perpetual enmity subsist. In his own district the Rajah possesses considerable power, and is considered lord of the soil, though he derives no direct revenue therefrom. In the exercise of his judicial authority he is assisted by the Pamunchu, which office is always held by one of his relations, and their decisions are guided by the traditional usages or customs of the country. Their laws are remarkable for severity; offences are probably rare. Murder, adultery, and robbery, are punished with death, and the slavery of the offender's family; theft, and minor offences, by heavy fines.

"In cases of debt, on failure of payment at the regular

time, the amount is doubled; on a second failure it is doubled again, and so on until it amounts to a certain sum, when the creditor is considered entitled to the person of his debtor as a slave. Should the debtor avoid compliance, which is often the case, the creditor may seize on any member of his family; and when they belong to different districts, the first straggler of the tribe is sometimes made responsible. This practice produces much distrust, as no man is secure from seizure on some pretence or other; and the consequence is, they are always on their guard, and never move any where unarmed. All marriages are by jujur (or purchase), and the amount is very high. It is probable that a great part of the debts are incurred on this account.

"All the evils arising from the imperfections of their civil institutions have been aggravated and increased by the odious traffic in slaves; and as this subject is one of peculiar interest, we have been particular in obtaining the most minute information concerning its extent, causes, and origin.

"The greatest number of slaves has hitherto been exported from Sumanbawa and Sello Dalum; those from the northern parts have been much fewer. It is by no means easy to get an exact account of their numbers, some endeavouring to extenuate and diminish it, and others equally desirous of magnifying it, according as they wished to give a favourable impression of their conduct, or a high idea of their wealth; and the very nature

of the trade in some measure precludes exactness. From a comparison, however, of these different accounts, checked by an estimate of the number of vessels resorting thither, and the value of their imports, we are satisfied that the annual number exported has not fallen short of fifteen hundred. According to some accounts, more than this had been carried from Sumanbawa alone. They are purchased chiefly by Achenes and Chinese vessels, the latter of whom carry them to Padang and Batavia.

"The circumstances that attend the traffic are no less revolting to humanity than those which marked it on the coasts of Africa. The unhappy victims, torn by violence from their friends and country, are delivered, pinioned hand and foot, to the dealers in human flesh; they are kept bound during the whole course of the voyage, a precaution which is considered necessary to the safety of the crew. Instances have occurred where the captives have seized a moment of liberty to snatch up the first weapon within their reach, stab all whom they have encountered, and conclude the scene by leaping overboard, and voluntarily seeking a watery death. In their country, the Nias people rarely make use of rice as food, and are almost unacquainted with the use of salt. The sudden change of diet to which they are subjected on board ship, added to the confinement and dejection of mind, prove fatal to many: of a cargo of thirty slaves, twenty have been known to perish before the conclusion of the voyage; and, on a moderate calculation, it may be estimated that, of

the total number purchased, one-fourth never reach their destinations, but fall victims to the various causes above mentioned.

"On the scenes of violence that take place in this country itself in the search of victims it will be useless to dwell; they can be better imagined than described. We shall merely relate one well-authenticated instance, as given by an eye-witness. 'A plan had been laid to attack a single insulated house, inhabited by a man, his wife, and children, and to seize the whole family. At the appointed hour the house was surrounded, but the man no sooner discovered his situation, understood the purpose, and saw that there was no escape, than he locked himself into the inner apartment, drew his kris, killed first his wife and children, and then plunged it in his own breast, preferring death to a life of slavery.'

"Such are the circumstances that our inquiries have brought to light; it is impossible to contemplate such high qualities as we have described, subjected to such evils, without feeling the strongest interest in their favour. They have appealed to Britain for protection; they have placed themselves under her flag and dominion. We cannot forbear recording the remarkable expression of one of the Chiefs of Tellòdalam. He earnestly entreated us not to leave him: 'Have patience with us,' he said; 'we are ignorant, uninstructed people, but we are desirous of obtaining the means of improvement: formerly we looked to the Malays and to the Achenese, but they de-

ceived us; if you should now desert us, from whom can we entertain any hope?' We trust the appeal will not be in vain.

"With a view to ascertain the best means of effecting the suppression of this nefarious commerce, we have been minute in our inquiries into the causes and origin of slavery in Pulo Nias, and the mode in which slaves are procured. Slavery is recognized by their laws and customs; it is the punishment ordained for certain crimes, and it is permitted as the ultimate resource in cases of debt. These customs have, no doubt, been much increased in severity by the temptation of an external demand, and are often employed on very slight pretences, but they are quite inadequate to account for the great number annually exported. We have abundant proof that the greater number are made slaves by open and actual violence. The Rajahs had little hesitation in admitting the fact, but said that the system originated with foreigners, and that the source of the evil was without. In fact, the temptation of exorbitant gain, and the persuasion of the dealers who resort to the ports, prove too much for their self-denial, and induce the most unprincipled among them to have recourse to every means of fraud, stratagem, or violence, to procure victims to their avarice.

"It must not be forgotten to record that we have met with a few instances of Chiefs whose virtues have been proof against temptation; who had not only prohibited

the traffic in their own districts, but even refused to permit the transit of slaves from the interior, or their disposal in any manner at their respective ports. We had still greater reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Rajah of Sumanbawa. On the subject being first opened to him, and our views and intentions explained, he expressed his own approbation, but wished to communicate with the Chief of the interior, with whom he was connected, before entering into such important engagements; the answer proved unfavourable, and the Rajah was threatened with vengeance. After some consultation, however, he came on board and acquainted us that he was determined to disregard the threats of the interior Chief, and to enter into agreements with us. He professed himself ready to shut his ports against all exportation of slaves, on condition of our affording protection and encouragement to legitimate commerce. This was peculiarly gratifying, as Sumanbawa has hitherto been the greatest slave-port on the Island. Indeed it is but justice to all the Chiefs to say that, on a full discussion, they entered into our views with regard to the slave-trade with more cordiality than could have been expected.

"The measures, therefore, to be adopted for its suppression appear to divide themselves into three branches. First, to check as much as possible the external demand; second, to endeavour to soften and modify the severity of the native customs; and third, to provide the means of

relief to debtors, and such as by existing usages are liable to the condition of slavery.

"On inquiring of the different Rajahs the number of persons in a state of slavery on account of debt, whose redemption they wished to effect, the answer was uniformly, 'We have none, but if you wish to purchase slaves, wait a few days and you may have a hundred." On inquiring further how this was to be effected, we found that they had only to send notice to their agents among the interior Rajahs, and any number were forthwith brought down bound. They probably sent word to catch so many slaves, with as much indifference as they would have given an order to catch so many hogs for the same purpose. The fact is the arrival of the trading boats, which takes place at a certain season, is the signal for universal rapine and violence throughout the interior.

"On the subject of religion, the people of Pulo Nias have but few ideas; they acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom they call Sumban Quit or the Lord of Heaven, but they have no distinct notions respecting him. Wooden images are to be found in all their houses, which are regarded as a kind of lares or protecting household gods, but no worship is addressed to them; they are rather considered as representatives or memorials of their ancestors, for whom they have a great reverence. A belief in charms is common, and every man carries a bundle of these attached to his kris. Great occasions are celebrated by the slaughter of hogs and a great feast; and when a Chief

commences any affair of consequence, as the building of a house, the head of an enemy is sometimes suspended in honour of the circumstance. Their form of oath is by cutting the throat of a hog, while the party invokes the vengeance of Heaven that he may suffer the fate of the said animal if he prove unfaithful to his oath.

"In these rude notions we can trace little more than the unassisted efforts of the human mind in a low state of civilization, conscious of the limitation of its own powers, and impelled thereby to imagine a superior existence. It would be vain to trace a connexion between them and any of the forms of Pagan worship established in the East. The people of Nias had probably been separated at a very early period from their original stock, and have been exempted by their insular situation from the influence of the various religions that have at different times pervaded the greater islands. The settlements of Mahomedans have been of too recent a date to have much influence, and they have made but few converts; they have not, however, overlooked the object, but have generally defeated it by their rapacity and violence. By Europeans the Island has been almost entirely neglected. Thus abandoned to the ravages of pirates, and to all the evils of an active slave-trade, we cannot but estimate highly those native energies which have rendered their country populous and flourishing in spite of so many obstacles."

Sir Stamford was anxious to do the utmost possible

good for such an Island and such a people. It has been stated that Pulo Nias is the granary of that side of Sumatra, and the extent of its grain produce only limited by the demand. The benefits arising from the suppression of the slave-trade would not be confined to the relief of the unhappy victims alone, but would be the first step to the civilization of the country. Independent of the habits of cruelty and rapine which it tends to infuse, the exorbitant profit it holds out, like those of gambling, excites an aversion to the slower advantages of legitimate commerce and agricultural labour. It required no special interposition of foreign influence; a few stations of police along the coast would have been sufficient evidence of protection, and this Sir Stamford warmly advocated, and hoped so great a benefit so easily obtained would meet with approbation from all the wise and good: but the Court of Directors "had no hesitation in declaring that his proceedings in regard to Pulo Nias were deserving of their decided reprehension." "And they were inclined to visit him with some severe mark of their displeasure for the steps he had taken," and threatened to remove him from his government.

After the transfer of Sumatra to the Dutch, the slave-trade was resumed with greater vigour than ever; and numbers of these poor people have since been carried away to Batavia, and the French Island of Bourbon.

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, Feb. 1st*, 1821.

"I am now engaged in drawing up a detailed report of the past, present, and anticipated circumstances of this settlement with reference to its finances in particular. This report will not be long, but it takes time to go through the books, and draw out abstract statements of the accounts.

"I have had a great deal of trouble in revising and reforming our general books and accounts, and it is only lately that I have received authority from Bengal to clear them of the rubbish and confusion which has been heaped upon them during the last twenty years of ruin and desolation.

* * * * *

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Bencoolen, May* 15, 1821.

"I have not much to communicate from hence. We have about half-a-dozen new animals to describe, and our collections of plants are rapidly increasing. What shall we do with them? If we do not clear off as we go, we shall find ourselves terribly clogged in our future exertions.

"Our agriculture is extending, and much of my time is spent in the country. I am now completing a very comfortable residence; the grounds are in one direction about four miles long, and towards the hills about three

miles wide. We hope to raise all our supplies on them, as the sawah land is very extensive, and I have upwards of two hundred head of fine cattle. Our roads are excellent. The distance is about thirteen miles from Marlborough; but I think the communication is much quicker than between Aldenham and London, as our friends think nothing of driving out to breakfast, and returning before the heat of the day.

"I sincerely hope we shall carry you along with us in our progress of improvement. I need not tell you how anxious I am to know your sentiments on what we are doing; for you must be pretty well aware that in all such proceedings it is rather to good and sincere friends that I can look for advice and support, than to the higher official authorities with whom I am in communication. Neither the Court of Directors nor the Supreme Government seems inclined to enter into any improvements which do not decrease expenses, and raise immediate revenues; and I find that it is really lost labour to enter into long explanations, and furnish them with despatches which they never read. While I am conscious of taking the right path, I shall persevere; and I suppose that in the end, when we come to collect the fruits, we shall find all the authorities willing to gather them.

"Our climate is excellent and delightful, and the improvements which we see give an interest in the place which I never thought it capable of exciting.

"Lady Raffles bears up remarkably well. Marsden,

your godson, I am happy to say, is getting on very fast. My other children are becoming quite companions, and often remind me of the necessity I shall be under of returning to England at no very distant date."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, May* 29, 1821.

* * * * *

"God willing, we hope to embark from this for England, if not in 1823, certainly in 1824; I am not aware of any changes which are likely to protract my departure. On the contrary, everything seems to concur in proving the necessity, to say nothing of the inclination to return: political events may hasten, but cannot well retard it; and my presence in England may soon become indispensable in support of what I have been trying to do in this part of the world. It is hardly possible for you to conceive how much I have suffered for opening so important a channel for trade as has been effected by the establishment of Singapore: everything is condemned. But a truce to politics: I have other reasons to urge me home. Neither my health nor that of Lady Raffles is very good; I never was strong, and during my first residence in India the climate made a considerable inroad on my constitution. I have had two or three severe attacks since my return, and am now under the necessity of being very careful. I really do not think I could last out above two or three years more; and certainly ambition shall not

weigh with me one moment against life. Besides this, my dear little rogues will be rapidly expanding. Charlotte is already as advanced as most children of five years old: she takes an interest in every thing that is going forward, and is really becoming quite a companion. In two or three years both her mind and body will require a colder climate, and to send her home for education, as people usually send their children from this country, is out of the question; we have determined to take her and all the children (for we have now four born within as many years), and to time our departure with reference to their health and happiness. Leopold also will, in two or three years, have grown beyond my management, and it will be time to commence upon the rudiments of a better education than I can give him. I believe people generally think I shall remain longer, as they hardly suppose in such times, and with an increasing family, a man will be inclined to forego the advantages of the field before me; but they know me not. I have seen enough of power and wealth to know that, however agreeable to the propensities of our nature, there is more real happiness in domestic quiet and repose, when blessed with a competence, than in all the fancied enjoyments of the great and the rich.

"Of public news I have very little to communicate, and perhaps none that will be interesting. The Dutch you know are still at war with Palembang, and they have lately fitted out a *third* expedition, consisting of upwards of 3000 Europeans, fresh from Holland; poor fellows! They

are determined on vengeance. No quarter is to be given, and dreadful will be the massacre if they succeed, which God forbid!

"Our establishment at Singapore is gaining ground so rapidly, that the Dutch are determined to risk everything, sooner than allow us to remain; and, as far as I can judge of the proceedings between the Commissioners in England, there is reason to fear they will gain their point. It is the only chance our ministers have of making some amends for the manner in which they restored Java.

* * * * *

"I am afraid you will find this a very long and selfish letter, and yet you beg of me to say more of me and mine. I have endeavoured to obey your commands."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*June* 12, 1821.

"In my last letter, I informed you I was much interested with the people of Pulo Nias; during the last month my attention has been entirely devoted to them, and I am half inclined to write a book in their favour, in order to prove that they are the happiest and the best people on earth. I had nearly made my mind up to this, when I made further discoveries in the neighbouring Islands, called the Nassau or Poggy Islands, where I found a people still more amiable, and, if possible, still more genuine. If I go on at this rate, I may expect to discover the garden of Eden, and the descendants of our first parents, enjoying all the simplicity of primeval times.

"It is very certain that on the first discovery of what we term savage nations, philosophers went beyond all reason and truth in favour of *uncivilized* happiness; but it is no less certain, that of late years, the tide of prejudice has run equally strong in the opposite direction; and it is now the fashion to consider all who have not received the impression of European arms and laws, and the lights of Revelation, as devoid of every feeling and principle which can constitute happiness, or produce moral good. The truth, most probably, as is generally the case, lies between the two extremes, and there is, no doubt, much difference according to the circumstances under which the people may have been placed. We find, in some of the Islands of the South Seas, people who are habitually mischievous, given to thieving, lazy, and intractable; in others, we find the very opposite qualities; and philosophers, speculating upon the first data that are afforded, without full and general information, are led into error.

"Various circumstances have hitherto prevented me from penetrating into the Batta country, but I lose no opportunity of collecting information, and your Grace will not perhaps be surprised to learn, that even among these cannibals, I find much to praise and admire. In one province I have ascertained, beyond doubt, that a considerable refinement has taken place in the mode of eating parents. Here, instead of the young people eating the old ones, when past work, they send them to their

neighbours, who, in due time, return the compliment to them."

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TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Bencoolen, July* 12, 1821.

"You must, during the last year, have been so much pestered with my letters, that a respite of a few months will be very acceptable. Your letters of the 21st November and 28th December have duly arrived; and I hardly know how to thank you for the zealous interest you have taken in all the questions I have so unmercifully troubled you with. You have done just as I could have wished in everything, and, once for all, allow me to return my most sincere and grateful acknowledgments.

"I have obtained a great mathematical assistant, and hope to do something respecting the geography of the island. Dr. Jack and a few friends have just ascended the Sugar-loaf, and were the first Europeans who had reached the summit; they are still out in their rambles, and will, I hope, bring in an abundant collection in the botanical department. Of animals they have not yet obtained one that is new; and indeed they observe, with regard to the mountain, that it is in vain to look for them there, as none but monkeys can possibly climb the rocks.

"Java, I am concerned to say, is suffering under all the miseries of the exterminating cholera; the deaths average eight hundred a-day, and from ten minutes to four hours is the usual period of illness. God grant it

may not extend this way, although, as one of the Radins said on the occasion, if it did, it would leave us much as it found us, as the population could not be well more scanty than at present.

"Your god-son grows a fine boy, and runs about. Lady Raffles has since presented me with another girl."

Upwards of three years had passed in uninterrupted health and happiness, but a sad reverse took place at this period; the blessings most prized were withdrawn; the child most dear to the father's heart, whose brightness and beauty were his pride and happiness, expired in all the bloom of infancy, after a few hours' illness: and from this time until his return to England, sickness and death prevailed throughout the settlement and in his own family; but God's Holy Spirit enabled him to receive these afflictions with meekness, and to feel that they were trials of faith, not judgments of anger.

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, July* 12, 1821.

"I little thought a week ago, when overwhelmed with grief by the loss of our dear and eldest boy Leopold, who was snatched from us after a very short illness, that I should so soon have been called upon to report upon another, and to you, my dear friend, a still more severe loss. A vessel leaves this port immediately, and bad news flies fast. Cruel as must be the stroke, and ill-

qualified as I am at the present moment to break it to you with the tenderness and caution I could wish, I must perform the duty; I must rend your heart by telling you that our dear friend and your brother Harry is no more!

"He breathed his last yesterday, and was carried off in a few days by a series of apoplectic fits, which baffled all the powers of medicine. He has just been buried, and I snatch a moment from the time I am obliged to devote to Sophia to send you the melancholy intelligence.

* * * * *

"I shall not trouble you with our griefs, you will have enough of your own. Neither Sophia nor myself are well, and time and the influence of God's blessed Spirit can alone work any change. My resolution is taken to return home during the next or the following year.

"Neither my health nor spirits, nor indeed my time, if I had either, enable me to say more; in a few days we shall be more collected. God bless you! and believe that there are hearts here which sympathize with yours most deeply."

As an example of the character and feeling of the people, the following anecdote may be interesting:—Whilst the Editor was almost overwhelmed with grief for the loss of this favourite child, unable to bear the sight of her other children—unable to bear even the light of day,—humbled upon her couch with a feeling of misery,—she was addressed by a poor, ignorant, uninstructed native

woman of the lowest class, (who had been employed about the nursery,) in terms of reproach not to be forgotten:—"I am come because you have been here many days shut up in a dark room, and no one dares to come near you. Are you not ashamed to grieve in this manner, when you ought to be thanking God for having given you the most beautiful child that ever was seen? Were you not the envy of every body? Did any one ever see him, or speak of him, without admiring him; and instead of letting this child continue in this world till he should be worn out with trouble and sorrow, has not God taken him to heaven in all his beauty? What would you have more? For shame, leave off weeping, and let me open a window."

TO ———.

"*Bencoolen, October 16th*, 1821.

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"So far from my administration being expensive, you will perceive that the nett charges are less than any former year, notwithstanding all the changes that have been worked, and that they are in a gradual course of reduction.

* * * * *

"My spirits are quite broken down, and I can write but little.

* * * * *

"I send by this conveyance my report on the past, present, and future, or rather prospective circumstances

of Bencoolen. It is my last effort, and will prove that my finances will bear the test of examination. You will perceive how we are reducing the nett charges.

"I do not expect an unlimited surrender in favour of colonization, but it is a great point even to move the question. If we can go silently on, the end will be accomplished eventually; all we want is men and capital, and certainly you have abundance to spare.

"We are getting better, but Sophia is not competent to write."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Bencoolen, November 9th*, 1821.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have before me your long and kind letters of the 11th, 19th, and 23rd of March, the last which I have received, and I can hardly find words to express to you either my acknowledgments for the warm interest which you have taken in all that concerns me, or my regret and annoyance that I should have subjected you to so much trouble and inconvenience. For the latter I have no excuse to offer but the necessity which obliged me to call upon some friend on whom I knew I could rely; and in the hope that your kindness, like charity, will cover a multitude of sins, I will fain trust that I am already forgiven for the unreasonable intrusion on your time.

"I will write you more fully hereafter, at present I am hurried and I am sorry to say very far from well. The

loss of our eldest boy has been a severe stroke to us, and followed as it has been by so many deaths among our relatives and connexions, it has nearly proved fatal to our happiness. I thank God Lady Raffles is at last recovering, but we are neither of us what we were, and I fear we must soon think seriously of returning home.

"I have some anxiety about a successor for this place: unless it is some one inclined to follow in the track I have marked out, I fear all I have done may be thrown away. We are certainly improving.

"I am planting coffee extensively at Permattam Ballam, and the country really begins to assume a new character. At present, my plan is to leave this the end of next year, about this time, for Singapore, and there to remain till I hear what are the arrangements at home. I have no idea of its being given up to the Dutch, but I fear its being put under Panang. Should everything go on favourably, which is hardly to be expected, I should wish to remain at Singapore till the early part of 1824.

"My last letter will have informed you that our attention is now devoted to geographical and geological information. The result is contained in a paper forwarded to Mr. Colebrook: for the correctness, as far as it goes, I hold myself fully responsible. About January I expect a party will be here from the observatory at Madras, for the purpose of trying the vibration of the pendulum on the line; if we have good weather and zealous men we shall do much. We go on collecting the never-failing

wonders of our extraordinary and abundant vegetation. I have lately thought it advisable to draw up a short review of the circumstances of Bencoolen, particularly with reference to its finances; should you be disposed to read it, it may perhaps serve to amuse an idle hour, and it will prove to you that I am leaving no stone unturned to make the most of this place before I leave it. I am working upon rather a stubborn soil, but I think I feel it give way before the exertions we are now making.

"Our little family are upon the whole very well; they have their share of trials, but bear them pretty well, and at present are in good health. Charlotte is everything mamma could wish, and Marsden, now alas, the only son, is advancing rapidly. He has not the beauty and loveliness of poor Leopold, but he is a fine boy, and remarkably quiet and intelligent. Our last, Ella, is a great beauty.

"We live in the country quite retired, and when the sun admits, which is not for many hours in the day, we are always in the grounds superintending our improvements. We call our house Permattam Ballam—the abode of peace.

"Our missionaries are engaged in printing a new version of the gospel of St. John. Mr. Robinson, the author of the work on Malayan orthography, is a Baptist missionary, who settled under my administration in Java, and has since sought my protection here; he has been a close student of Malay literature and language for the last seven years, and has long been in the habit of preaching to the natives."

TO THE DUCHESS OF ———.

"*November* 9, 1821.

"My heart has been nigh broken, and my spirit is gone: I have lost almost all that I prided myself upon in this world, and the affliction came upon us at a moment when we least expected such a calamity. Had this dear boy been such as we usually meet with in this world, time would ere this have reconciled us to the loss—but such a child! Had you but seen him and known him you must have doated—his beauty and intelligence were so far above those of other children of the same age, that he shone among them as a sun, enlivening and enlightening everything around him. I had vainly formed such notions of future happiness when he should have become a man, and be all his father wished him, that I find nothing left but what is stale, flat, and unprofitable. My remaining children are, I thank God, rather superior to the ordinary run, and Charlotte is everything we could wish her. How is it that I feel less interest in them than in the one that is gone?—perhaps it is in our nature.

"But I must leave this subject, or you will have cause to regret my correspondence. You will be sorry to hear that Lady Raffles and myself have been seriously ill, and that I am still so far complaining that I hardly know whether I shall live or die. At one time I am sorry to say I cared but little which way my fate turned; but I now begin to think of the necessity of exertion for those about

me, and sometimes venture to look forward; but I am too low and wretched to write much more, even if my paper allowed."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, November 10th*, 1821.

"Sophia has at last undertaken to write to her mother. She is getting better, and I am happy to say the children are well; for myself I am at this moment under the operation of mercury, and maintain but a crazy kind of existence. I sometimes think it very doubtful that I shall ever reach England again: at other times, I rally a little; but, upon the whole, I begin to be more indifferent as to the result than I used to be.

"My present plan is to leave Bencoolen about this time next year for Singapore, and to remain there till I go home.

* * * * *

"As far as comfort and accommodation go, I think we might more advantageously remain all our time at Bencoolen, but we want a *change*, and I dread the chance of two years' idleness."

TO THE SAME.

"*Bencoolen, December 6th*, 1821.

"Our health has upon the whole improved, but we have still a sick house; nothing however serious. I calculate that by the next China ship we shall be able to see our way clear. If it is certain that I am not to administer Singapore on my own principles, then I shall feel little

interest in going round as I at first proposed. If I do not go the end of next year it will probably be March, 1823, before I move from hence to Singapore, my object being to remain there till I start for England. This event will, I hope, take place in January, 1824, at furthest; my health and constitution will not stand longer.

"I observe what you say regarding trade and the opening which now offers by the late Act. I fear trade any where just now is a bad concern. At any rate it is not likely to be much improved in India by this *unimportant* Act—it merely grants to English ships indulgences which they formerly took upon themselves to enjoy."

"We have thousands of ships carrying on the port to port trade, including China, and the only advantage now gained by the English shipping is, that they are allowed to compete with those of India on pretty nearly fair terms. It may possibly raise the value of English ships, and will in proportion depress those of India, and it may be the means of satisfying John Bull for a year or two, when he will find that he has not gained much by it: you see, therefore, that we view this subject in India somewhat differently to what you do in England."

* * * * *

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, December 10th*, 1821.

"We are at this moment in great alarm for our dear Charlotte, who labours under a violent dysentery—Sophia has not left her for three days and nights, and our

almost only hope is now in effecting a salivation with mercury. So severe has been our affliction in the loss of poor Leopold, that we are hardly capable of sustaining a second shock of the kind just now. The younger children have also been seriously ill, but are getting better. We have at any rate resolved to send home all we have left as soon as a ship going direct can be procured: I have half made an agreement with the Captain of the Borneo for the purpose, and they will probably sail in February.

"What a sad reverse is this! but the other day we were alarmed lest we should have too many, now all our anxiety is to preserve some even of those we have. The change of climate may do wonders, and we shall hope to follow them in a year or eighteen months.

"I keep to my resolution of going to Singapore in the course of the present year; some change will be necessary for Sophia."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, December 16th*, 1821.

"My last letter will have informed you of our sad affliction in the loss of my dear boy Leopold. I cannot yet reflect on the event with any degree of calmness. Charlotte has also nearly fallen a sacrifice to the climate, and is at this moment far from being out of danger. Our house for the last six months has been a complete hospital. This change has within a few days induced us to resolve upon sending all the children we may have left to England

without loss of time, and we propose embarking them on the Borneo, to touch here for them in February next. If our dear Charlotte lives to embark, I shall write you more particularly, if not I shall want spirits to address you.

"My own health still continues most seriously affected. I am seldom well for twelve hours, and always laid up for several days in the month. Nothing but a sense of public duty would weigh with me, under these circumstances, to stay a day longer; but I cannot leave my post without previous notice, and completing some arrangements which are in progress. I shall, however, be at liberty to move where I please, by the time our answer can be received from England to letters written by the present opportunity. Lady Raffles is almost exhausted with continual watching, night and day."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, Dec. 26th,* 1821.

"My former letters will apprise you that we send our dear children home by the 1st of March, so that you may expect them in June. Charlotte is improving, though very slowly.

"With regard to the increased facilities in trade to arise from the new Act, you will see from my former letters, that I do not rank them very high. They will, to a certain extent, be injurious to the country traders; but I think the local knowledge of the latter, and their greater facilities of knowing the state of the markets, and taking

advantage of the moment, will still enable them to sustain a successful competition.

"I have said and done all that was possible in the political department. My attention will occasionally be directed to the agricultural interests at Bencoolen; but as soon as I proceed to Singapore, commercial plans will occupy all my time. All the information which has yet reached England seems to be very general. You want something practical, and my idea is to collect all particulars in detail; that is to say, specimens of the manufactures that may be introduced into Siam, Cochin-China, Japan, &c., through Singapore; the extent of the demand, the price to be obtained, and the returns to be procured. A body of information of this kind, collected by me on the spot, with the advantage of personal explanation in Europe, is likely to be very valuable.

"I shall probably point out great advantages; such as the introduction into China of manufactured cottons, in lieu of twenty thousand tons of raw material, that we now send them from India; the supersession in the China market of the iron and crockery-ware, now so extensively in demand from China throughout the whole Archipelago; the extensive circulation of a British copper coinage throughout the Archipelago.

"I hope to prove to the Company and my country, that in my views and expectations regarding Singapore, I have not been visionary."

"*Bencoolen, January 15th*, 1822.

"We have this morning buried our beloved Charlotte. Poor Marsden was carried to the grave not ten days before, and within the last six months we have lost our three eldest children: judge what must be our distress.

"This is a melancholy day, and I have turned my thoughts to serious subjects: among the rest, to the risk we run by remaining longer in this country. I have, therefore, taken the first step towards going home, by sending in my resignation.

"On referring to my commission, I find that I am not allowed to leave India without permission from the Court, under the hand of thirteen or more Directors.

"This is intended merely to apprise you of the misfortunes and afflictions we are still doomed to suffer. We have now only one child left, the little Ella, still an infant; thank God, she is apparently well, and it is our determination she shall go home in the Borneo, in which ship I had engaged accommodation for the three.

"I shall not attempt to convey to you anything like an idea of poor Sophia's sufferings. Charlotte had attained that age that she was quite a companion, and of all the misfortunes likely to happen, this was the last looked to. Yet, severe as the dispensation is, we are resigned to it; we have still reason to thank God.

"I still propose visiting Singapore about September next, to return here the following May. By the 1st

January, 1824, God willing, we hope to be on our way home; but more of this hereafter."

"*Bencoolen, February* 19*th*, 1822.

* * * * *

"I am sending home various collections, principally rocks and corals.

* * * * *

"I have been desperately ill and confined to a dark room the last ten days, but, thank God, I am better: I dare not write much."

"*Bencoolen, February* 26*th*, 1822.

"As the Borneo will be off in a day or two, I sit down to give you something of a general letter, but I am too ill and weak to write much, and you must excuse repetition, should I fall into it. For the last three weeks I have been confined to my room by a severe fever, which fell on the brain, and drove me almost to madness. I thank God, however, that I have now got over it, and am on my legs again; but I am still weak, and unable to converse with strangers.

"The first and most interesting subject is our dear child. * * * *

"Our little darling is under the immediate charge of Nurse Grimes. She leaves us in excellent health, and we indulge the hope that by the strong measure we have taken of sending her to a healthier climate, we may be

spared this *one* comfort to solace and enliven our declining days.

"Sophia's health, though it has suffered severely, is, I thank God, improving, and if it is the will of God that we even continue as well as we are, we hope to be able to stand out another year or two with tolerable comfort.

"I fancy I shall find plenty to do at Singapore. * *

"The place thrives wonderfully. The amount of the tonnage arrived during the first two years and a half will speak volumes in its favour.

"We sent lately a commercial embassy to Siam, which was well received. So convenient and contiguous is Singapore, that Siam sugars and other articles are selling there a dollar cheaper than in Siam itself: this is owing to their being conveyed in native junks to Singapore.

"There is a sad confusion at Penang, first among the Governor and his counsellors, and next with the Siamese, who have burnt and sacked Queda, and obliged the King to take refuge at Penang.

* * * * *

"You seem anxious to know how we go on with our schools and Bible Society, and I am happy to report favourably of them. Upon the whole we go on well, particularly with the schools. We are printing the Gospels in an improved Malay version suited to this coast, and I have it in contemplation to print the New Testament in Javanese, which is now ready for the press.

"The spices I think must attract the attention of the

Court of Directors. The private consignments by the Borneo are nearly equal to the Company's, and the whole will afford a supply for the British Isles for nearly twelve months.

"Look after the engraving of the chart of the pepper ports by Captain Ashmore, and interest Horsburgh: he will know the value of them."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, February 27th*, 1822.

"You will, I am sure, grieve to learn what has befallen us. My last letter announced to your Grace the loss of my dear Leopold. I have now to add, that during the last month, and within a few days of each other, we have been successively deprived of my only remaining boy, and of Charlotte, your god-daughter. We have now only one left, an infant, the little Ella; and that we may not run the risk of a tropical climate, we send her home by the present opportunity, under the charge of our good old nurse.

"Such severe trials in a climate by no means congenial to an European constitution, and broken down as we were by former afflictions, have had their effect in producing severe illnesses. Lady Raffles has in point of health shared better than myself, but she is miserably reduced and lowered. For myself, I have had two of the most severe attacks I ever suffered. The last a fever which fell on the brain, and I was almost mad. I am still an invalid, and confined to my room.

"How different are these communications to those I was so happy as to make during our first three years residence! We were then perhaps too happy, and prided ourselves too highly on future prospects. It has pleased God to blight our hopes, and we must now lower our expectations more to the standard of the ordinary lot of human nature—God's will be done!

"All our thoughts, and all our wishes are now turned homewards. Sometimes the prospect is bright, and the heart expands in the contemplation; at others, dark clouds intervene, and the dread of meeting old friends with new faces and colder hearts chills every feeling of pleasure. For ourselves I can only say, that with every remove we have dragged a 'lengthened chain'; and that our attachments and affections have only warmed and increased in the ratio of the distance to which we have been driven, and the time we have been banished. We shall carry home the same hearts, the same principles and attachments with which we left England, heightened only by the force which absence and privation give to every enjoyment. Lady Raffles prays you to excuse her: since the loss of my dear Leopold she has never dared to take a pen in her hand.

"In a day or two we shall be left without a single child! What a change! We who had recently such a large and happy circle. All our fears were once that we should have too many: all our cares are now to preserve

one—our only one. I cannot say any more: my heart is sick and nigh broken."

TO THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, February 28th*, 1822.

"Our domestic misfortunes have borne so heavily upon us, that I have been obliged for many months to forego the satisfaction of anything like a regular correspondence with my friends. The loss of our three eldest children, added to severe and dangerous illnesses, have so completely broken our spirits, that we are almost afraid to look forward; and under these circumstances I am sure I shall not plead in vain to your Grace, that you will excuse my long silence.

"I am still confined to my room from the effects of a violent nervous fever, and my medical attendants limit me to the number of lines I may write: this will therefore account for my unusual brevity.

* * * * *

"I send by the Borneo a very considerable collection of plants and seeds for the Horticultural Society: among them some very thriving plants of the mangosteen and other Malayan fruits, our choicest flowers, the sago and sugar-tree, with all the varieties of our pine-apples, &c. If the ship meets with good weather they will, I think, be a very valuable addition to their stock.

"My settlement at Singapore continues to prosper.

By the returns of shipping, and native vessels arrived since it has been in our possession, the following results appear.

"The total tonnage arrived in two years and a half has been upwards of 161,000 tons, and the estimated value of imports and exports, 8,000,000 dol., or 2,000,000*l.*

"Considering all the disadvantages under which Singapore has been placed, the want of confidence in its retention even for a month, the opposition of the English settlement at Panang, and of the Dutch, a stronger proof of its commercial importance could hardly be afforded.

"It is my intention to go round to Singapore in about three months, and to remain there until I have made the necessary arrangements for establishing the place on a proper and lasting foundation.

"The change for a few months will, I doubt not, prove beneficial to Lady Raffles' health and spirits."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Bencoolen, Feb. 28th*, 1822.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Our domestic afflictions have been so great, that I have been quite unequal, during several months, to maintain any thing like a regular correspondence with my friends. You will have heard of our severe loss in the death of my eldest boy Leopold; and I have now to add, that during the last month, and within a few days of each other, we were doomed to lose our eldest daughter Char-

lotte, our first-born, and my only remaining boy, Marsden, your godson. These have been dreadful trials to my dear Sophia; but, I thank God, she is now becoming tolerably reconciled, and that, upon the whole, the shock has been got over as well as could have been expected.

"We have still one little prattler left, an infant; but after what has passed we have lost all confidence in the climate, and lose not a moment in sending her to England. She proceeds in the Borneo, now about to quit this port for London. Parting with our only one is an additional trial to Lady Raffles, but we have judged it the best, and have not allowed feelings to predominate. This will prove to you that, however we may be depressed, the spring of our minds is not destroyed.

"I have myself suffered most severely from illness, and am at this moment hardly convalescent, not having left my room for three weeks. This last attack is the most severe I have felt, and I can compare it to nothing short of a brain fever, which almost made me mad. It is the first and only fever I ever experienced, and by falling on the nerves was doubly distressing.

"All these circumstances combined have only tended the more firmly to fix our determination of going to England in the course of next year, and I have accordingly sent home my resignation.

"By the Borneo I send a considerable consignment of Bencoolen spices to the Company, and the planters have shipped a still larger quantity on their own account: the

invoices cannot amount to less than 100,000 dollars, and probably more. This will afford the means of a fair experiment, and I am anxious to interest all the friends of Bencoolen in it. Our cultivation is extending, but we are sadly off for capital and European industry, the very commodities with which you overflow."

* * * * *

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, March* 6, 1822.

"The Borneo sailed from hence on the 4th instant, having our dear and only child on board. Sophia has borne the parting tolerably well; but what a sad and lonely house, without nurse and the children!—Never was there such a change!—We wander from room to room, solitary and dejected. But God's will be done, and we must be content.

"I see no reason for altering the course I am steering, and my mind is made up to stand or fall by my own views or measures; thank you, however. * *

"Our schools here are extending, and the missionaries gaining ground."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, April* 12, 1822.

"It is now above a month since I wrote to your Grace by the ship in which we sent home our dear and only remaining child Ella; and though, as you may well suppose, we have been left as solitary and disconsolate as can well

be imagined, I think it will be satisfactory to you to know that both Lady Raffles and I have been gaining ground in health and spirits. We now begin to look with some confidence on returning to our native land, and to indulge in a thousand anticipations of joy and anxiety.

* * * * *

"In the way of news, or interesting information, you cannot expect much. The only political event in our neighbourhood of recent occurrence is the defeat of the Dutch in the interior of Padang, where they have become engaged in a war with the Padries, a sect of Mahomedans, which is rapidly gaining ground through the northern parts of Sumatra. It is the practice of these people, when they are attacked, to place the women and children in front; and in the last onset by the Dutch, it is reported that not less than one hundred and twenty women, each with a child in her arms, were sacrificed, the women standing firm.

"The discomfiture of the Dutch on the last occasion is stated to have been occasioned by the treachery of a Padri Chief, who apparently came over to their side, and led them into a snare; and the Dutch took their revenge of his perfidy by assembling all the troops and Chiefs of the country, shaving off the poor man's beard, &c., and then chopping off his head, embalming it, and sending it down to the seat of government, to the Resident's, where it is exhibited."

TO THOMAS MURDOCH, ESQ.

"*Bencoolen, April 12th*, 1822.

"My dear Sir,

"I am afraid you will have thought me very remiss in not acknowledging the receipt of your kind and friendly letters; and yet could you know the state of misery and anxiety into which we have been plunged during the last year, I am sure you would make allowances. Our first serious misfortune was the death of Lady Raffles' eldest brother, who had come to us from Bengal on a visit. Next followed my dear and eldest boy Leopold, your godson, the pride and hope of my life; but we were perhaps too proud, and we hoped for too much, and, if so, we have been justly humbled. Our brother-in-law, Captain Auber, who brought us out to this country, was the next; and after him, in rapid succession, nearly every person in India whom I could call a friend; all those who had been in my confidence in Java: and to close the year, I was myself attacked with a serious and alarming illness, which I did not shake off for many months. Lady Raffles, though not laid up, was in a very precarious state; and though her anxiety for me might be of temporary service in turning her thoughts from former afflictions, it could not do otherwise than still further reduce her.

"With the past year, however, we had vainly hoped that we had overcome our afflictions. We endeavoured to raise ourselves about Christmas; but before the 20th of January two more of my children, my eldest daughter

Charlotte, and my only remaining boy Marsden, were in the grave! This blow was almost too much for us. But we had still one little one left, and embraced the first opportunity of sending her to a safer climate, where, we trust in God, she will have duly arrived long before this reaches you. Our misfortunes did not even end here; for I again fell ill, and was confined for nearly two months, with something very like a brain fever. It is only within the last month that I have got about at all; but I now feel myself completely recovered, though much shaken in constitution. Lady Raffles most fortunately, and unexpectedly, has kept her health tolerably well; and if it pleases God that our afflictions now cease, we will still look forward to brighter days and better times.

"I have thus detailed my sorrows, not so much to excite your commiseration, as to prove to you that it was incapacity alone which prevented my writing. It is of no use to brood over misfortunes, and you will I am sure be happy to learn that we have both recovered our usual tone of mind and spirits; the body however is weak, and the only remedy for this is change of climate; on this also we have resolved, and I hope to reach England early in 1824.

"I propose going round to Singapore in the course of a few months, for the purpose of completing all my arrangements in that quarter. Its rise still continues to astonish those who did not at first look deeply. From a statement of the arrivals and departures, imports, &c., during the first two years and a half, it appears that, during that

period, no less than 2889 vessels have entered at the port, of which 383 were armed and commanded by Europeans, and 2506 by natives of independent states, and that their united tonnage amounted to 161,515 tons.

"It further appears that the value of merchandise in native vessels that have entered the Port during the same period has exceeded five millions of dollars, and that the imports and exports by ships have not been less than three millions more, making a gross amount of eight millions of dollars, or nearly 200,000*l.* sterling.

"These statements have been forwarded to Europe, and from this proof of the extent of commercial dealings at Singapore during the infancy of the establishment, and whilst it has laboured under many disadvantages, some estimate may be formed of its real value and importance."

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*Bencoolen, April* 17, 1822.

"My dear Cousin,

"I wrote to you so lately by the Borneo, that I have little to add beyond the assurance of my continued esteem and affection. We have, thank God, recovered very much of late, and Sophia is quite herself again. I am but a crazy mortal at best, but on the whole am quite as well in health as I have any right to expect in a climate which is anything but congenial to my constitution.

"We still hold our determination of quitting India,

God willing, for Europe, about the end of next year—neither of us can last out longer.

* * * * *

"We now pass our time in great retirement. I have lately completed a very comfortable country-house, and much of my time is taken up in agricultural pursuits. I am by far the most active farmer in the country, and as President of the Agricultural Society, not only take precedence at the board, but in the field. I have a dozen ploughs constantly going, and before I quit the estate, I hope it will realize a revenue of two or three thousand a year, besides feeding its population. It is an experiment, but it will encourage others; and as it is a property which belongs to the Company, no one can accuse me of interested views in the efforts which I am making. It is possible that in England I may look with interest to the returns in money which my oats and barley may afford; but here I am quite satisfied with seeing and collecting the produce of my industry and exertions. I am cultivating and improving for the mere love of the thing, and the desire of employing my time advantageously for others.

"Our sugar at last succeeds very well, but the disappointment in the mills has been great indeed. It was only a few weeks ago that I received the letters from Messrs. Littledale. We then immediately set to work to construct a mill here as well as we could; and it has now commenced

to work at the rate of half a ton a day. The sugar is excellent, and I have no doubt the rum will be of equally good quality. This is the first part of my mechanical operations, for which I take to myself no little credit, considering our want of assistance and experience. We took our model from the Encyclopædia.

"Adieu, my dear Cousin, &c."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, July 25th*, 1822.

"I am sure it will be satisfactory to you to know that both Sophia and myself have become *ourselves* again: not that we can forget our past and heavy afflictions, or cease to mourn over them; but we can now again enjoy the present hour, and look forward with steadiness and satisfaction. I am not one of that 'Satanic school' who look upon this world as the hell of some former and past creation, but am content to take it as I find it, firmly believing, from all I have known and seen, that whatever is, is for our good and happiness, and that there is actually more of both, even in this world, than in our consciences we can think we have deserved. Our health, too, has improved, and if in this respect we could remain as we are, we might risk two or three years more, at least so say our present feelings, but we must not trust them: experience dictates prudence, and if we only hold out till the appointed time, we shall be satisfied. We have had a very sickly season, and among the casualties are our chaplain and

doctor; Jack also has been obliged to fly to Batavia for change of air, and deaths are of daily occurrence in our small circle: but notwithstanding this we still look up; therefore, with the blessing of God, don't despair of seeing us in 1824.

"I have long looked for the appointment of Mr. Canning as Governor-General; and, upon the whole, I augur well of his government, not from any personal views as to myself, but with respect to the public interests, to which I cannot but look with anxiety. My life has hitherto been a public one; and long habit, if it is nothing else, has made the public weal as interesting to me as my own personal prospects ever can be. Without attending to it I should lose half the interest of my life, so that you must not be surprised if I still hold on the same course, even though I may not be able to prove that my interests are advanced by it. To these I never looked *primarily*, and God grant I never may. I believe, paradoxical as it may seem to say so, I should lose my identity were I to cease to love other things better than myself. It may be a wrong turn of mind, but such is the twist of it, and matured as it now is by forty years' growth, I fear I must change myself ere I think or act otherwise.

"Do not, however, do me the injustice to suppose that I am overweeningly attached to the things of this world —am in love with ambition, or suppose I can reform the world by my endeavours. I think I know myself better. I would rather be a simple *unit* with the *united* few who

act rightly and on principle, than a blazing cipher acting for self and my own nothingness. But a truce to this. I hope to be at Singapore by the time Canning arrives, so that he will find me at my post of danger, and I yet hope of honour too.

"As for Crawfurd, what you say, to a certain extent, had now and then presented itself transiently to my mind in the same light; but you mistake me if you suppose I entertain any unpleasant feeling on the account; whatever his faults, he is devoting his mind exclusively to objects in which my heart and soul are deeply interested. Let Crawfurd have his swing, the more extended the better; in the present times we, perhaps, require such bold and fearless men. The cloud of ignorance, which still hangs over England, with regard to the Eastern Islands, cannot be dissipated by ordinary means, or by dint of reason: it requires the agency of some of those powerful elements which, while they disperse, cannot avoid partially destroying.

"Where we differ we shall explain, and longer and cooler heads may light their matches from the sparks which we strike out. Two of a trade, they say, can never agree; and Crawfurd and I are, perhaps, running too much on the same parallel, not now and then to be jostling each other; but if in following my steps he profits by my errors and experience, it will be a satisfaction to me. He writes to me that his views are turned homewards in 1825, but this I don't believe. I

think he expects to return from his cruise about the fall of the next year, and will, I have no doubt, convey a fine collection to the Governor-General: it is not impossible we may meet.

"I observe what you say on the state of the nation. I agree with you, as far as we can perceive from this distance, that things look better. Manufactures and commerce are certainly improving, and agriculture will come about in due time. It is very amusing to hear the complaints of the ruin of the country in consequence of its too great riches and abundance. For those who suffer, and they are very many, I feel most sincerely: most deeply do I commiserate the wretchedness which must necessarily be felt by certain classes; and all must be content to retrograde from the high pitch of ease and luxury, which were created by an over, but, perhaps, necessary excitement: yet I never can bring my mind to suppose our case desperate, while we not only have more people, but more food, and more money than we know what to do with. Were I to land, for the first time, on some large and highly populous island, and to observe a similar state of things, what would be my impression? Not that it was a ruined, but a badly governed country. Ours, perhaps, is so circumstanced; although among the many quacks and pretenders to heal the diseases of the state, I have seen but few whose panacea were worth the trial. Upon the whole, perhaps, we cannot go on much better than we are doing: our circumstances have changed,

and are still changing, and the great object is to assist the wheel as it turns round and render this as gradual and imperceptible as possible. Most certainly do I think we have not changed for the worse. Scarcity and high price never can be better than cheapness and abundance: for a time, it may serve to gorge the appetites of the few; but in the long run, and for the nation at large, it never can last, but must inevitably end in ruin. Industry and plain living suit better with good morals, sound understanding, and, consequently, with the happiness of this life, and the prospects of the future, than idleness and luxury, though they were to be bought without the sacrifice of the many to the few. I look highly on the resources of the country, I consider them as inexhaustible, and that the days of our true greatness are now approaching. So much for politics.

"I must not omit to tell you a curious fact: the Java Government were distressed for money, and proposed to raise a loan of thirty lacs in Bengal, at from seven to nine per cent., payable in five years. The terms were communicated to me, and the loan opened: but there was a feverish anxiety in Calcutta as to the security of the Dutch, notwithstanding their power and means in the East were never less equivocal; and the Dutch themselves thought better of it, and the loan was closed, when, lo and behold! the only subscription to the loan, actually realized, was from me. This has occasioned a reference to Batavia from Bengal; and it is odd enough, after all

our battlings, that I should be found to be the only man in India who would hear their distress, and trust them with a penny. This is, at least, an amusing anecdote for the entertainment of his Netherlands' Majesty, when he may honour me with another invitation to his palace at Lacken.

"Your letter respecting young M'Lean I purposely put aside to answer, after turning the matter in my thoughts; it is a serious matter to direct the destination of a young man, and, as I never like to drop those whom I once take up, I am anxious to see that all is right in the beginning. So much depends upon the start, that we cannot be too cautious.

"My former letters will have informed you of my present plan for going home, and, I thank God, the necessity does not exist for our going in the Layton.

"I observe what you say respecting Pulo Nias: I must again refer you to my principles of action, with an assurance that I do, and will, to the utmost of my power, act prudently and cautiously.

"I am placed here, as it has been my lot ever since I have been intrusted with a government, to administer the public affairs according to my best ability. I lose no time in informing my superiors of my situation and the circumstances of the country, and their interests. I implore advice, and ask for authority; I receive none; scarce an acknowledgment, and when I do, one that only proves they can never have read what I have

written. Year after year rolls on; the public weal must be attended to, and time and tide stand still for no man. How is it possible that a man, having the honour of his country at heart, and any conscience whatever, can remain a silent spectator of what is daily getting worse and worse? Either he must step in to stop the ruin, or he must eat the bread of idleness, and pocket the wages of iniquity; for they cannot be honestly earned without the performance of corresponding duties, to say nothing of the happiness or misery of the thousands and tens of thousands committed to his charge, and whose destiny must, in a great measure, be considered in his hands.

"I receive very kind letters from Mr. Grant and Mr. Edward Parry; I have reason to value and esteem them, and I am deeply sensible of their kindness.

"My hand aches, and I must leave off with an apology for writing you so long a letter; but, in truth, I have not had time to write a *shorter*, and, therefore, give you in haste what comes uppermost. We are all well."

"*Bencoolen, July 26th*, 1822.

"You say our new Deputy Master-Attendant is a *protegé* of Mr. Robinson, and on this account entitled to my attentions.

"I am not aware that, as yet, I am under any obligation to Mr. Robinson, for if report says true, he is most hostile to me, but for why I know not. Be it as it may, I would always rather return good for evil; and, in the hope that he may one day lay aside his prejudice, and be

open to reason and conviction, you may assure him that I only regret I am not better known to him. Times may alter as they have once altered, and really I cannot account for much that I see and hear; nevertheless, I shall continue to pursue a straight-forward course, as I have hitherto done, without swerving to the right or left, quarrelling with no one."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, July 28th*, 1822.

"I will now reply to your letter respecting young M'Lean.

"With industry and perseverance, a good constitution and frugal habits, there wants but one thing more to complete the requisites, and that is capital, or credit, which is the same thing; without this last, it is chance if the others have fair play, and with it, I think few places offer better prospects than the spot from whence I write —Bencoolen, where there are most advantageous openings for advantageous speculations, in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar and rum, the culture of coffee, spices, &c., and where, notwithstanding all its supposed disadvantages, more may now be done with *dollars* than ever could be effected in the West Indies with *pounds*.

"Commercial speculations are, in a great measure, at a stand, and Singapore is overstocked with merchants. They will be too keen for a novice, and in these times it is quite a science, even for the first houses to know how

to make money: the most they can do is to prevent loss. In Java there are great facilities and advantages, both for trade and cultivation, particularly the latter, but then it is under a Dutch government. Of the extent of capital required, anything from one to five thousand pounds will answer, but, of course, the more the better. With two or three thousand pounds to sink in the land at Bencoolen, I really think a pretty fortune might be made in ten years, paying back the first capital with a high interest in three or four.

"One thing, however, must not on any account be expected either here or at Singapore—there are no appointments to be had—not more than you can pick up in the streets of London; therefore, everything must depend upon the party himself, and on his own frugality and exertions."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, September 4th*, 1822.

"We have had a very sickly season. I am concerned to say, my inestimable friend Jack still remains in a very dangerous state, and is obliged to embark in the Layton for the Cape. In him I lose my right hand; but if he survives, he will rejoin me in six months, and accompany us home.

"I am afraid I shall have a good deal to do at Singapore, as the place grows so rapidly, that some important

provisions must be made for its internal management and comfort.

* * * * *

"Sophia, I am sorry to say, has had an illness which has lowered her very much, and makes me very anxious to get her home. Would to God we were once safe with you, and out of these enervating regions.

* * * * *

"The idea of a pepper cargo without dead weight is such a farce, that the Layton has been the laughing-stock to all the private traders, and, were the whole proceeding to be published, I know of no instance that would expose more ignorance and absurdity in the Company's proceedings as merchants.

"I am off for Singapore to-morrow, very far from well, and the change may do us good."

* * * * *

TO W. MARSDEN, ESQ.

"*Bencoolen, September 8th*, 1823.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I promised myself the satisfaction of writing to you very fully by the Layton, but illness, and the variety of detail which must be got through in the few days between this and my embarkation for Singapore, will, I fear, compel me to be more brief than usual. I still continue to suffer so severely from a nervous affection in my head, that I cannot calculate upon an hour's health;

Lady Raffles too is only just recovering from an illness; and my invaluable friend, Dr. Jack, is on the eve of embarking for the Cape as a last hope. Under these circumstances, and the bustle of packing and delivering over the charge of the settlement for some months, you will, I am confident, make allowances. Your kind letters, from the 19th of August, 1821, to the 7th of March last, are now before me, and although there are many points in them to which I could have wished to advert, I must be content to notice a few.

"Your observations on our press are as just as they are liberal; and I only wish it was in my power to convince you that we have sufficiently profited by them. You were, of course, aware that my object is rather to excite others than to come forward myself, and that in our present publications I necessarily keep in the background. I allow nothing to appear as direct from myself.

"This will show you that I am doing all I can to ascertain the true form of the coast in this quarter.

"The following is the latest and best information which I can obtain respecting the Rakan river.

* * * * *

"I must defer our further geographical discoveries till another opportunity. I enclose you Captain Crisp's calculations on the longitude of Bencoolen: we are just commencing with Jupiter's satellites, and I shall cer-

tainly not allow the present astronomical party to leave the coast until I have laid down all the principal points.

" *September* 14*th.* I had written thus far, when I was broken in upon by a host of people, and on business; and my time is now so short, that I can do little more than close this letter, as we embark at daylight to-morrow. Dr. Jack is still alive, and sails for the Cape this evening, but I have very little hope for him; I shall feel his loss most severely, both as a private friend and an able assistant, not only in the particular line of natural history, but in our geographical pursuits. With his assistance and Captain Crisp's, I had commenced our general survey of Sumatra with some hope of success; but I am now no longer sanguine of doing much in my own time. In a country like this, where nothing material of this nature has been effected, the scope of our operations seemed naturally to divide itself into three branches: first, the determining the geographical position of all the sea-ports and harbours, and the hydrographic delineation of the line of coast and the adjacent Islands; in this we have done, and I am happy to say we are still doing a good deal: secondly, the conducting a series of triangles from a measured base, in order to fix the site of towns, the extent, and direction of the several ranges of mountains, and the points where the rivers take their rise; in this we have gone so far as to lay down a tolerably extensive base from the tower of Marlborough Fort,

which we purpose to adopt as the leading point, or meridian, and to carry on the triangles as far as the eye will reach from hence; and, thirdly, the sketching the more minute topographical details, in which we neither have wasted nor shall waste our time.

"I must, however, here close, in the hope that my health will enable me to take advantage of the leisure of the voyage to write you more fully. I take the liberty of presenting Mrs. Marsden with a cask of Bencoolen sugar, in the hope that she will patronize our manufacture. The superior authorities will insist that we can neither manufacture sugar nor grow coffee, though we have already produced the former of better quality than any known in the East, and our coffee-gardens are in every way promising, and the export from Padang alone, during the last year, exceeded 20,000 peculs. You will observe that our sugar is muscovado, and not the light article usually obtained from India; and as the worth of sugar must be in its sweetness, we think we stand high. I am confident you will give it all the credit it deserves, and more we do not wish."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*September* 14, 1822.

"The last arrivals have brought us many kind letters from you; and I need not attempt to say how truly, and how deeply, we feel your kindness. The hand of affliction

has been heavy upon us; and it is in such times that the kindness of friends, and of those we love and esteem, is doubly valued.

"I did intend to write you a very long letter by this opportunity; but illness, and the multiplicity of detail which crowds upon me at the moment, deprive me of the leisure of even five minutes. We embark for Singapore to-morrow morning.

"If I am able to hold up my head, and use my pen at all, I shall certainly avail myself of the leisure of the voyage to endeavour to make amends for my long silence by writing you a very prosing letter. I will not attempt to say more at present, as you will easily perceive from the writing that I hold my pen with difficulty; but though my head fail, my heart never will."

* * * * *

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, September* 15, 1822.

"We were to have embarked this morning for Singapore, but the wind has proved foul, and it was ordained that we should remain another day, to bury our dear and invaluable friend, William Jack. Poor fellow! a finer head or heart there never was; and whether as a bosom friend, or as a scientific assistant, he was to me invaluable; he had been long ill, and returned from Java about a fortnight ago, after an unsuccessful visit for change of

air: we embarked him yesterday morning in the Layton, for the Cape; and he died this morning before the ship weighed her anchor.

"I am so depressed in spirits, and altogether so incompetent to the task of writing to his father at this hurried moment, when all is confusion for my embarkation, that I must postpone it; but I beg you to assure him, that the loss is as deeply deplored by his friends here, as it is possible it can be by his family at home; and that for myself, I am so overwhelmed by the misfortune, that I cannot command myself to enter into particulars. His character and talents stood deservedly high with all who knew him; and if anything can afford relief to a parent in the loss of such a son, it ought to be the reflection that he has performed the course which he was destined to run with honour and integrity, and that his sphere of usefulness was as extended as his talents and ability, themselves of no common order, could command."

"*Straits of Sunda, off Angier, September* 26, 1822.

"I am happy to say that we are thus far on our way to Singapore, all well. The melancholy addition to the number of deaths in our family, by the loss of William Jack, made us quit the place without much regret; and God grant the change of air and scene may work a favourable change both in our health and spirits.

"It is indispensable that the ship which comes out for us should have a poop, as Sophia could not undergo the

voyage below hatches; indeed, she is so bad a sailor, and we are both so weak and unfit for a long voyage, that we sometimes think of making a port-to-port voyage home; that is to say, going to the Isle of France, the Cape, St. Helena, and the Cape de Verd Islands, and stopping at each place a week or a fortnight to recruit."

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*In the Straits of Banca, Oct.* 1, 1822.

"My dear Cousin,

"Our correspondence has latterly flagged, though I hardly know why, except it be that we may neither of us have had heart or spirit enough to enter on the sad subjects which have most absorbed our attention. You will, I think, be glad to hear that we have quitted Bencoolen for a season; for though I still adhere to its being, on the whole, as healthy as other parts of the East, the melancholy events which have accumulated in our own family must produce a contrary impression on all who look to us with interest and affection. Death, as if he seemed determined to glut himself to the last, snatched from us, two days before we sailed, another member of our family, my invaluable and highly respected friend, Dr. Jack; he had supplied the place of Dr. Arnold, and all my future views in life were intimately blended with the plans and projects which we had formed. He was to have accompanied me to England, and his death has left a blank which will not be easily or speedily filled up.

"I am now on my passage to Singapore, accompanied by Sophia and her youngest brother; and my plan is to remain there about six months, with the view of arranging and modelling something like a constitution for the place, and transferring its future management to a successor. Should God spare our lives, we then look to return to Bencoolen for the purpose of winding up; and then, about the end of the year, if it be not too presumptuous to look forward so far after what has passed, we contemplate the prospect of revisiting old England. At all events, no views of ambition will weigh with us beyond that period; and, considering the precarious state of our health, and the many ties at home, it seems in the natural course of things that we should then take this step.

"Among the numerous deaths which have occurred at Bencoolen, we have lost no less than three doctors, and our worthy chaplain, Mr. Winter, whose widow and family are now on their way to England. As the advance of good principles so essentially depends on the character of the pastor, and particularly at Bencoolen, where there is only one of our Establishment, and his union with the Missionaries is so essential, I am not a little interested in the choice that may be made of a successor. He will be appointed from home, and, most likely, become known to you before his departure. This, I think, would be advantageous, particularly with reference to future correspondence after I may leave the country. Of all places, a ship is the worst for application, or even for writing a letter, for

there is always something going on, and generally what is annoying either one way or the other. I am subject to constant interruptions, and am at this moment obliged to break off my letter.

"I again resume the pen, though I have little to add, except a farewell."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival at Singapore—Description of the settlement—Grounds of right to its retention—Occupation at Singapore—Selection of site for college—Value of land—Contrast of Bencoolen and Singapore —Number of vessels arrived in the first two years and a half—Bungalow on Singapore hill—Botanic garden—Description of plant described by Dr. Finlayson—Mission to Bali—Drawing up laws and regulations for the settlement — Magistrates — Memorial against slavery—Resolution of the Bengal Government—Instructions to Mr. Crawfurd—Addresses from the inhabitants—Singapore the only place in India where slavery cannot exist—Leave Singapore—Touch at Batavia—Correspondence with the Baron Van de Capellan.

THE pleasure of witnessing the increasing prosperity of a settlement which he had himself formed, in which he was hailed as a benefactor, and welcomed as a friend by all ranks and classes, raised the spirit which sorrow had depressed; and Sir Stamford's heart again expanded with the hope of happiness, and rejoiced in the consciousness of possessing the power of diffusing civilization and blessings around him.

TO ————.

"*Singapore, October 11th*, 1822.

"We landed yesterday, and I have once more established my head-quarters in the centre of my Malayan

friends. I have just time to say thus much, more you shall have soon and often: in the meantime you will be glad to know that I feel sufficient health and strength to do all I wish. The coldest and most disinterested could not quit Bencoolen, and land at Singapore, without surprise and emotion. What, then, must have been my feelings, after the loss of almost everything that was dear to me on that ill-fated coast? After all the risks and dangers to which this my almost only child had been exposed, to find it grown and advanced, beyond measure and even my warmest anticipations and expectations, in importance, wealth, and interest—in every thing that can give it value and permanence?

"I did feel when I left Bencoolen that the time had passed when I could take much active interest in Indian affairs, and I wished myself safe home; but I already feel differently; I feel a new life and vigour about me; and if it please God to grant me health, the next six months will, I hope, make some amends for the gloom of the last sixteen.

"Rob me not of this my political child, and you may yet see me at home in all my wonted spirits, and with an elasticity about me which will bear me up against all that party spirit can do to depress me.

"I have not time to write to any one else, therefore let all friends know that we are well, and again, Heaven be praised, in the land of the living. Sophia is quite well.

"Mary Anne and her child are well also, and in our hearts we sing, 'Oh be joyful in the Lord.'"

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"'*Singapore, November* 30, 1822.

"I am sure you will congratulate us in having escaped from Bencoolen with our lives, after the rapid succession of miseries which we experienced there. To close the melancholy list of casualties in my own family, I have to add the loss of my most excellent, valued friend, Dr. Jack. He was carried off the day before we sailed from Bencoolen.

"We have already experienced the benefit of change of scene and climate; and the prosperous state of this rising colony has made amends for the dull and sombre views which we have left. Here all is life and activity; and it would be difficult to name a place on the face of the globe with brighter prospects or more present satisfaction. In little more than three years it has risen from an insignificant fishing-village, to a large and prosperous town, containing at least 10,000 inhabitants of all nations, actively engaged in commercial pursuits, which afford to each and all a handsome livelihood, and abundant profit. There are no complaints here of want of employment, no deficiency of rents, or dissatisfaction at taxes. Land is rapidly rising in value, and instead of the present number of inhabitants, we have reason to expect that we shall have at least ten times as many before many years have passed.

This may be considered as the simple, but almost magic result of that perfect freedom of trade which it has been my good fortune to establish.

"We are daily looking for accounts of the arrival of our new Governor-General; and it is not improbable he may bring out final instructions respecting this place, as far as concerns the questions with the Dutch. I have, however, very little uneasiness on the subject, as I think it now nearly impossible to dispossess us; and the time for my going home now draws so nigh, that I shall be able to fight the battle out in England, upon more equal ground than I have been obliged to do here.

"I could fill a volume with new matter, on new people, new manners, and new countries, but I must be content to hold my tongue until I have the gratification of telling you all my long stories in person.

* * * * *

"I am at present engaged in establishing a constitution for Singapore, the principles of which will, I hope, ensure its prosperity. The utmost possible freedom of trade and equal rights to all, with protection of property and person, are the objects to be attained, and I shall spare no pains to establish such laws and regulations as may be most conducive to them. In Java I had to remodel, and in doing so to remove the rubbish and encumbrances of two centuries of Dutch mal-administration—here I have an easier task—and the task is new. In Java I had to look principally to the agricultural interests, and the commer-

cial only so far as they were connected with them; here, on the contrary, commerce is everything, agriculture only in its infancy. The people are different as well as their pursuits. I assure you I stand much in need of advice, and were it not for Lady Raffles I should have no counsellor at all. She is nevertheless a host to me, and if I do live to see you again, it will be entirely owing to her love and affection: without this I should have been cast away long ago. If it please God we have health, we hope to pass the next two months pleasantly enough in this interesting occupation.

"The only amusing discovery which we have recently made is that of a sailing fish, called by the natives *ikan layer*, of about ten or twelve feet long, which hoists a mainsail, and often sails in the manner of a native boat, and with considerable swiftness. I have sent a set of the sails home, as they are beautifully cut, and form a model for a fast-sailing boat—they are composed of the dorsal fins of the animal, and when a shoal of these are under sail together, they are frequently mistaken for a fleet of native boats."

TO W. MARSDEN, ESQ.

"*Singapore, Nov.* 30, 1822.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"You will, I am sure, be glad to learn that we have derived every advantage from change of scene and climate which we calculated upon, and that both Lady Raffles and myself have daily improved in health and

spirits since our arrival here. The last blow reserved for us at Bencoolen was the death of my most valued friend, Dr. Jack, and great indeed has been the loss which I have sustained by this event. Poor fellow, we had become so intimate, and our future plans had become so interwoven with each other's views in life, that I could not have felt the loss of a brother more than I did his. But I must not get into a melancholy train of thought, and will drop the subject till we meet.

"Of Singapore I could of course say a good deal; but when I say that it is going on as prosperously as possible, you will infer much of what I would communicate. I have nearly got over the job of undoing, and am steadily going on in the establishment of something like a constitution for the place, on the principle of establishing it permanently as a free port in every sense of the word. The active spirit of enterprise which prevails among all classes is truly astonishing, and, for its extent, I believe I may safely say that no part of the world exhibits a busier scene than the town and environs of Singapore. The Dutch have been obliged to take off their duties at Java and elsewhere on native prows, and as far as appearances go, they seem to see the necessity of adopting a more liberal system throughout. I am sorry, however, to say that a recent act, in which they were the principals, is perhaps as disgraceful and abominable over a defenceless woman, as ever was committed by a civilized nation.

* * * * *

"The details of the destructive fire which has taken place in China will reach you through the public prints; I will therefore only notice that the whole of the factories, English and foreign, with two exceptions, and upwards of 12,000 Chinese houses, including six belonging to the Hong merchants, were burnt to the ground between the first and third instant, and that the fire was by no means extinguished on the twentieth, when our last accounts came away. The whole of the Company's woollens of the season, worth about 400,000*l.* have been destroyed, and about five hundred tons of tea—700,000 dollars were fortunately saved from the Company's treasury, but nothing else from the factory, and the supercargoes have for the most part lost everything but the clothes on their backs. This will occasion some long faces in Leadenhall-street, but it will set the manufacturers at work to supply the woollens lost.

"You will no doubt have heard of Crawfurd's mission to Siam and Cochin China. He has failed in the essential objects of his mission, but has had the means of collecting a good deal of information respecting the countries he has visited, which will afford him the opportunity of writing a very interesting book or two. He was with me last week on his return to Bengal, and I had the opportunity of entering fully into the subject. At Siam he was detained five months. The King received him in the first instance, but all his communications subsequently were with an officer of the second rank below the sove-

reign; and the only acknowledgment he could obtain of the Governor-General's letter, was a short reply from an officer of the *third* rank, specifying the duties and regulations of the port; but which was no sooner delivered than the terms were broken, and the first act after Crawfurd's departure was to seize the supercargo, Captain, and part of the crew of an English vessel, and to beat and knock them about till they had nearly deprived them of life; afterwards putting them in irons and treating them with a barbarity which would disgrace savages: and this purposely as an insult to our embassy, and to show their contempt of our power.

"At Cochin China he met with a somewhat better reception personally, but the King would not grant him an audience, or receive the letter from the Governor-General at all. The reason assigned was its not coming from a crowned head, and that a similar letter from France had not been received. A certificate from one of the mandarins, that we should be allowed to trade on the same terms as the French, was all that Crawfurd could obtain.

"It does not seem that there is any foreign European influence at either court, prejudicial to our political or national interest; and Crawfurd seems to think they are both too jealous to admit of any. They have undoubtedly great apprehensions of any European power gaining a footing among them; and nothing could equal the strict manner in which the embassy was watched at Cochin China.

"Siam proves to be fully as rich a country as we supposed. Its population is estimated at six millions, of which one-sixth may be Chinese, and nearly one-half the whole are included at the districts of Lao, the other half occupying Lower Siam. The produce in sugar, pepper, &c. &c., is immense; and the tonnage on junks which annually enter the Minam is not estimated at less than 40,000 tons; of these, eighteen or twenty of the largest junks belong to the King, who, with the court, monopolizes all the foreign trade of this country. The value of this junk trade is so important to the King and all concerned in it, that they are naturally averse to the admission of our shipping, to its supercession, and perhaps destruction; and this circumstance added to the despotic nature of the Government, its jealousy and general bad character, seem to preclude the hope of our enjoying a direct trade to any extent, by means of our own shipping. We must be satisfied with the entrepôt which we have established at Singapore, whither their junks regularly come with a large portion of the produce of the country, and can afford to sell it at a lower rate than foreigners can procure the same articles in Siam itself; and now under the protection of the British flag the exchange must take place. In the extension of this trade, the King and his court are so much interested, that he will in a manner feel dependent on us for the accommodation and protection afforded.

"The richest province of Lower Siam seems to be

Chantibun, on the eastern side of the gulph. It is said to export upwards of 80,000 peculs of pepper in a year.

"On his way to Cochin China, Crawfurd touched at Saigun, the capital of Lower Cochi, and situated on the northern bank of the Camboja river. This place he describes as full of activity and produce, and abounding with Chinese, who seemed anxious for a more general intercourse with us. Cochin China is a poor country comparatively with Siam; but the principal value of our connexions with it seems to be with reference to the channel which it may afford for a more extensive intercourse with several of the provinces of the Chinese.

"For further details I must refer you to Crawfurd's book when published, or beg of you to await my arrival in England, as I am ashamed to lengthen this letter further."

TO W. MARSDEN, ESQ.

"*Singapore, November 30th*, 1822.

"My plan is to resign Singapore as soon as I can make arrangements for the appointment of a successor.

"Since I have been here I have caught no less than six *duyongs* (the animal described by Valentin, and so long talked of as the mermaid), some as large as nine feet two inches. A full-grown female is now under the dissecting knife, so that the natural history of this extraordinary animal is likely to be better known than any of the other *cetæ*.

"Crawfurd's astronomers omitted to take either the

latitude or longitude of Bankok, the present capital o Siam, although they were there upwards of four months. The most remarkable production which they fell in with was a large potato or yam (a species of *menispermum*) weighing no less than four hundred and eighty pounds avoirdupois! This is a match for my great flower. Crawfurd carried up two *duyongs* from hence, and I have now three, ready prepared for England.

"We are making some advances towards a general survey of Singapore and the adjacent Islands; and I am happy to say I have succeeded at last in getting a very correct survey of the eastern coast of Sumatra from Diamond Point down to the Carimons. By the time I return to Bencoolen, I trust my astronomical party at the Line will have done something; and, at all events, I hope I shall have it in my power to show you that I have not been idle.

"You will be surprised to hear that a considerable quantity of the finest benjamin is produced in Lao, about the latitude of 15° or 16°, if not more.

"My hand is rather unsteady from my late illness, therefore excuse my scrawl, which I am almost ashamed to send."

TO T. MURDOCH, ESQ.

"*Singapore, December 4th*, 1822.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am afraid you will accuse me of neglect in not writing to you for so long a period, but I must tell the

truth, and rely on your kindness. I have not been able to bring myself to the point since the loss of my dear boy, Leopold, and even now feel a reluctance in doing so, which I can hardly overcome. The loss of that dear boy, in whom all our hopes were centred, has indeed been a severe blow; and the rapid succession in which our other darlings have been swept from us has been almost too much to bear. But, I thank God, the worst is past; and though we may have hardened our hearts a little in order to get over it, I will yet hope that there is as much happiness left for us in this world as we deserve to enjoy. We were, perhaps, too happy, too proud of our blessings; and, if we had not received this severe check, we might not sufficiently have felt and known the necessity of an hereafter. The Lord's will be done, and we are satisfied.

"You will, I am sure, congratulate us on our removal from Bencoolen. Only two days before we left it we lost another member of our family, my inestimable friend, Dr. Jack. This blow was reserved till the last, but it has not been the less severe. Poor fellow, we have lost in him one of the clearest heads and warmest hearts I ever met with; but death has so assailed us in every quarter within the last year, that I hardly yet know or feel all that I have lost.

"We have been here nearly two months, and the change of air and scene has done us great good. Lady Raffles in particular has greatly recovered both in her health and spirits, and I am myself very sensibly better,

though still occasionally dreadfully oppressed with headaches.

"Public report speaks so favourably of this place, that I cannot well say more about it, without subjecting myself to the charge of egotism, for it is, indeed, everything I could wish, and rising and improving in every way fully equal to my expectations. It is at least a child of my own; and now that I am in other respects childless, I may perhaps be indulged with this; and I can assure you that the interest I take in it cheers many a day that would otherwise be gloomy and sad enough in reflections on the past.

"I am now busy in allotting the lands and laying out the several towns, defining rights, and establishing powers and rules for their protection and preservation. I have been a good deal impeded, but the task, though an arduous and serious one, is not one that I find unpleasant. What I feel most is the want of good counsel and advice, and of sufficient confidence in my own experience and judgment to lay down so broad and permanent a foundation as I could wish. I have already upwards of 10,000 souls to legislate for, and this number will, I doubt not, be increased during the next year. The enterprise and activity which prevails are wonderful, and the effects of a free-trade and liberal principles have operated like magic. But that the past prosperity of the place may not prove ephemeral, it requires that I be the more careful in what I do for the future; for if the past, under all our uncer-

tainty of possession, has so far exceeded my expectations, what may not be calculated upon hereafter, when our principles are better understood, when our possession is considered secure, and when British capital and enterprise come into full and fair play!

"My sister and Captain Flint are here, and it is no small gratification for us to be with them. Flint is anxious to testify his recollection of your kindness and attention, and proposes sending you by the first opportunity the skeleton of an enormous ape, standing about five feet six, lately obtained from Borneo.

"We are overwhelmed with duyongs. While writing this I am informed of the arrival of another, which makes the seventh since I have been here.

"Lady Raffles will write to Mrs. Murdoch very soon. She pleads the same excuse for her silence that I have done for mine. The kindness of yourself and family has induced such a feeling on our part, that we calculate upon your sympathy in all our misfortunes."

TO ———.

"*Singapore, December* 10, 1822.

"My time is at present engaged in remodelling and laying out my new city, and in establishing institutions and laws for its future constitution; a pleasant duty enough in England, where you have books, hard heads, and lawyers to refer to, but here by no means easy, where all must depend on my own judgment and foresight.

Nevertheless I hope, that though Singapore may be the first capital established in the nineteenth century, it will not disgrace the brightest period of it.

"You will be surprised to hear of the value of land here. A few spots of ground hitherto considered of no value, and passed over by the local resident, sold in the course of an hour for upwards of 50,000 dollars. You will perceive that I have been very cautious in wording the grants of land, so as not to alarm the anti-colonists at home.

"We have heard nothing of the Borneo since her leaving the Cape, and are looking out most anxiously for news of our dear child. Sophia's patience is almost exhausted, and her spirits begin to flag, but I thank God she is again in excellent health, and better than I have seen her for the last two years. The hope of getting away from this country the end of the year buoys us both up, and enables us to get on from day to day with something like satisfaction.

"I have been very severely attacked since my arrival here, and it would be madness to think of remaining in the country a day longer than the time I have limited. I must remain here till April or May, and be at Bencoolen in June to meet and despatch the Indiaman.

"Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the two settlements. At Bencoolen the public expenses are more in one month than they are at Singapore in twelve. The capital turned at Bencoolen never

exceeds 400,000 dollars in a year, and nearly the whole of this is in Company's bills on Bengal, the only returns that can be made; at Singapore, the capital turned in a year exceeds eight millions, without any government bills or civil establishment whatever."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*Singapore, January* 12, 1823.

"My dear Cousin,

"Since my arrival here I have received two letters from you of rather ancient date; but they remind me that I am very much your debtor in the way of correspondence; and if my health admitted it, should not long be so. As it is, you must be satisfied with a few lines, the doctor prohibiting me from writing more.

"The progress of my new settlement is in every way most satisfactory, and it would gladden your heart to witness the activity and cheerfulness which prevail throughout; every day brings us new settlers, and Singapore has already become a great emporium. Houses and warehouses are springing up in every direction, and the inland forests are fast giving way before the industrious cultivator. I am now engaged in marking out the towns and roads, and in establishing laws and regulations for the protection of person and property. We have no less than nine mercantile houses (European), and there is abundant employment for capital as fast as it accumulates.

"Both Sophia and I have improved in health since our arrival here, but I still feel myself so weak and broken down in constitution, that it will be as much as I can do to hold out for the year. My principal attack is in the head, and for days together I am nearly distracted, and almost unconscious of what I am doing.

"The death of my friend, Dr. Milne, of Malacca, has for a time thrown a damp on missionary exertions in this quarter, but I expect Dr. Morrison, of China, to visit this place in March, and I hope to make some satisfactory arrangement with him for future labours. The two missionaries who are here are not idle. Messrs. Milton and Thompson, the former in Chinese and Siamese, and the latter in Malay and English printing. I have selected a spot for my intended college; and all I now require is a good head-master or superintendent. It is my intention to endow it with lands, the rents of which will cover its ordinary expenses. I am also about to commence upon a church, the plan of which is already approved.

"Believe me, &c."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Singapore, January* 21, 1823.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"By a statement I forwarded to the Court of Directors in February last, it was shown that, during the first two years and a half of this establishment, no less than two thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine vessels entered and cleared from the port, of which three hun-

dred and eighty-three were owned and commanded by Europeans, and two thousand five hundred and six by natives, and that their united tonnage was one hundred and sixty-one thousand tons. It appeared also, that the value of merchandise in native vessels arrived and cleared amounted to about five millions of dollars during the same period, and in ships not less than three millions, giving a total amount of about eight millions as the capital turned.

" This statement I thought very favourable; but I have now the satisfaction of forwarding to the same authority official statements, from which the following results appear for the year 1822, a detailed and accurate account having been kept during that period of the trade of the place:—

" Total amount of tonnage, importing and exporting, one hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and eighty-nine.

" Total value of imports and exports in the year 1822, eight millions five hundred and sixty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-two.

" Nearly the whole of this trade is carried on by a borrowed capital, for which interest is paid from nine to twelve per cent. per annum; and it is not a little remarkable, that since the establishment of the settlement, now four years, not a single ship has arrived from England, notwithstanding European goods are in constant demand. All British manufactures that heretofore found their way

into the settlement have come by circuitous routes, and with heavy charges of freight and duties at other ports added to their invoice value. No less than four free traders loaded home from Singapore last year; and the Venelia, by which I send this, now goes home with a full and valuable cargo of sugar, pepper, tin, tortoise-shell, &c.; and we could load half a dozen more ships in the course of the season were they here*.

"It being a great object to establish the freedom and independence of the port on a solid foundation, I take the liberty of enclosing you copies of several regulations I have recently passed for the registry of land, the rules of the port, and the establishment of a local magistracy, in the hope that you will consider them applicable to the peculiar circumstances of Singapore. Land has already assumed a high value, and a few lots of about sixty feet front, in a convenient situation for mercantile purposes, realized at public sale upwards of fifty thousand dollars in the course of half an hour. Small lots in the outskirts of the town, of only eighteen feet front, are bought and sold by the Chinese as high as seventy or eighty dollars each,

* It may be interesting to compare the relative trade at Singapore, Penang, and Malacca. The following is the value of the Exports and Imports in the year 1827-8:—

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
Singapore.	Penang.	Malacca.	Singapore.	Penang.	Malacca.
dollars.	dollars.	dollars.	dollars.	dollars.	dollars.
14,885,999	6,437,042.	1,266,090	13,872,010.	5,586,707.	7,918,163.

at the same time that they pay an annual quit rent of eight dollars to government.

"I have established a revenue, without any tax whatever on the trade, which more than covers all civil disbursements, and which must annually increase in future years, while these disbursements should remain the same.

"I give you these outlines, knowing how much interest you take in the settlement, and how satisfactory they will be to you. We yet remain without any accounts as to the final decision in Europe, but I cannot bring my mind to suppose that it will be unfavourable.

"We have lately built a small bungalow on Singapore Hill, where, though the height is inconsiderable, we find a great difference of climate. Nothing can be more interesting and beautiful than the view from this spot. I am happy to say the change has had a very beneficial effect on my health, which has been better during the last fortnight than I have known it for two years before. The tombs of the Malay kings, are, however, close at hand; and I have settled that if it is my fate to die here, I shall take my place amongst them: this will, at any rate, be better than leaving one's bones at Bencoolen. If it please God, we still live in the hope of embarking for Europe towards the end of the year.

"I am laying out a botanic and experimental garden, and it would delight you to see how rapidly the whole country is coming under cultivation. My residence here has naturally given much confidence, and the extent of

the speculations entered into by the Chinese quite astonishes me."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Singapore, January* 23, 1823.

"Since I last wrote to your Grace, about a month ago, I have had another very severe attack in my head, which nearly proved fatal, and the Doctors were for hurrying me on board ship for Europe without much ceremony. However, as I could not reconcile myself to become food for fishes, I preferred ascending the hill of Singapore, where, if my bones must remain in the East, they would have the honour of mixing with the ashes of the Malayan kings; and the result has been, that instead of dying, I have almost entirely recovered. I have built a very comfortable house, which is sufficient to accommodate my sister's family as well as our own; and I only wish you were here but for half an hour, to enjoy the unequalled beauty and interest of the scene. My house, which is one hundred feet front, and fifty deep, was finished in a fortnight from its commencement. When will your cottage be done?

"We have been a long time without news from Europe, and as yet have had no account of the arrival of our dear little girl. God grant she may have reached England in safety. She is now our only one, and any accident to this our last and only remaining hope and consolation, would be severe indeed.

"We have recently discovered a companion for my

great flower, in a noble orchideous plant, which will shortly be described by Mr. Finlayson and my friend Dr. Wallich, the latter of whom has taken several growing specimens to Calcutta, in the hope of getting them to England. It grows parasitically on rocks, or roots, in several of the islands in the Straits of Malacca, and the stems are as thick as a man's wrist, and from six to ten feet long, without branches, at the extremity of which they produce abundance of leaves. But the wonder is, its magnificent inflorescence, which forms an erect spike *six feet high*, with upwards of one hundred large-spreading brown and white chequered fragrant flowers, between two and three inches in diameter."

TO T. A HANKEY, ESQ., TREASURER TO THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

"*Singapore, January* 23, 1823.

"DEAR SIR,

"Since my return to Singapore, I have had occasion to notice the very zealous and successful exertions of the Rev. C. H. Thompson, settled at this place as a missionary in connexion with your Society. His acquirements in the Malay language are considerable, and he has succeeded in establishing a Malay school of from twenty to thirty pupils, several of whom he has converted to Christianity. He has also a small portable press, with Roman and Malay types. Considering his means and the circumstances of the place, he has already done more than could be ex-

pected; and, at any rate, laid a good foundation for future labours. I have given the necessary permission for the erection of a Malay chapel.

"The proposal of a mission to Bali seems to me to deserve attention. The Dutch have no influence in that island, and Mahomedanism has made but little or no progress in it. The population is estimated at between half a million and a million; and I am not aware that a missionary, properly qualified, would find many obstacles to his establishment. He should, however, in the first instance, come to Singapore to study the language, and become acquainted with the manners and character of the people. 'He must be content to suffer some privations, and to overcome some difficulties, at the outset; but if he has temper and a good constitution, the spirit of the good cause should carry him through it with satisfaction and credit."

TO ————.

"*Singapore, January* 23, 1823.

"I am anxious to interest you in favour of our missionary labourers, and particularly in support of the Rev. C. H. Thomson, who is established here, in connexion with the London Missionary Society. His means have been very limited, but he has done a good deal, and is making a sure and steady progress. He has made several converts and established a very respectable school.

"I have written home to the Secretary of the Society,

recommending their sending out to him two printing-presses. Pray support this recommendation, if you have any interest with the Society, as I look with great confidence to the influence of a well-conducted press in this part of the East, and the superintendence can never be better placed than in the hands of the missionaries.

"We have also proposed a mission to Bali, and some other measures."

* * * * *

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*Singapore, February* 8, 1823.

"You would hardly know the south bank of the river again. From the point, as far as the small nullah, all is in active improvement. Messrs. Mackenzie, Napier, and Scott, Che Sang, and others, are building substantial warehouses, according to an approved plan; and two high-streets are forming from the river, through the centre of the Chinese town, to the sea. The bridge, too, is in great forwardness; and in two months more the whole plan for that side of the water will be so far proceeded upon, that my successor cannot help following it up.

"The botanic garden goes on well. I am now employed in laying out the walks, and stones are collected for the foundation of a handsome rail-way round it.

"I shall soon become anxious about the arrangements of this place."

* * * * *

TO ————.

"*Singapore, February* 26, 1823.

"We are still without accounts respecting our dear little one, although the papers announce the arrival of the Borneo, and letters as late as the 20th August have been received.

"It is impossible that I can leave this place under its present circumstances. I have no one about me to put in charge of it, on whom I could rely. I have had, and still have, much to do in remodelling almost everything, so that my time is fully taken up, and the days pass more quickly than I expected. Thank God, both Sophia and I keep our health much better than we expected, and we only pray that we may so continue till the end of the year; then, if it pleases God, we will make an attempt to join you in the land of our fathers."

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*Singapore, March* 8, 1823.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I snatch a few minutes to thank you for your kind and welcome letter of the 10th of January, and congratulate you most sincerely on your return to the bosom of your family, and the delights of your second Eden.

"It will be satisfactory to you to learn, that notwithstanding the delays attending the wet season, my job here is nigh accomplished, the ground being raised as far

as the small nullah, and the new warehouses rising in every direction.

"Your principles are too pure, and your heart too warm, to encounter the shafts of ridicule, which envy and malice may fling at you. These are the weapons of the heartless and unprincipled—of those who have no sympathy with the feelings of others, no consideration for their happiness, no common feelings for the common benefit of mankind. Never mind, *magna est veritas et prevalebit*, and truth is virtue. You must recollect my warning. We live in a strange world. Unfortunately in the political part of it we are often obliged to smother feelings. This I say in my own defence, lest you should think I do not sufficiently espouse your cause. My heart and soul are with you and for you, and therefore you may judge how I feel.

"The magistrates have commenced operations with great prudence and judgment; their first presentation was upon the arrangement of the town.

"The second came in yesterday in the shape of a memorial against slavery—the slave-master and slave-debtor system—which seems to have been permitted here to an unlimited extent. I have not yet finally decided upon the question, but I am much inclined to think the wisest and safest plan will be to do in this as I did in the lands, annul all that has gone before. This establishment was formed long after the enactments of the British legislature, which made it felony to import slaves into a British

colony, and both importers and exporters are alike guilty, to say nothing of the British authority who countenanced the trade. The acknowledgment of slavery in any shape in a settlement like Singapore, founded on principles so diametrically opposed to the admission of such a practice, is an anomaly in the constitution of the place, which cannot, I think, be allowed to exist. But of this more hereafter.

"I am now in negociation with Dr. Morrison for the transfer of the Anglo-Chinese College from Malacca to this place, and its union with my proposed Malay College, under the general designation of the 'Singapore Institution.' * * * *

"I notice your request about my book *(History of Java)*, and shall most heartily and willingly meet your wishes. The book itself was a hasty performance, and I have often been ashamed of it; but the true circumstances under which it was written are stated in the preface, and all the world must know that I am no bookmaker.

"I shall write to your excellent friend General Hardwicke by the present opportunity, if I can snatch a few moments of time. I feel most grateful for his kind and generous attachment, and I beseech you to say, from me to him, all and everything that with such feelings I ought to say. I have indeed a warm and affectionate regard for him, and to tell you the truth, I love you both; and what can I say more?"

TO ———.

"*Singapore, April* 14, 1823.

"Yesterday brought us our letters and packets up to the 30th of August, and truly satisfactory have they been to us. The accounts of our dear child, the welfare of all, have been most gratifying, and we return thanks to God for the blessings we have received.

"I have lately had two or three severe attacks, but am getting over them, and Sophia is improving. She is to be confined in October, and in January we hope to start for England.

"I am anxiously looking out for Crawfurd to take charge here, that I may proceed to Bencoolen, where my presence is urgently required, Mackenzie, my deputy, having been obliged to fly on account of ill health. I hope to be there by June.

"I have had two very kind letters from Mr. Edward Parry and Mr. Money, pledging themselves to support my claims.

"I am now engaged with my valuable friend Dr. Morrison, of China, in rearing and establishing an institution at Singapore, for the cultivation of Chinese and Malayan literature, and for the moral and intellectual improvement of the Archipelago, and the surrounding countries. It will be my last public act. Singapore continues to thrive and expand."

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*Singapore, April* 17, 1823.

"My health is upon the whole much the same as when you left us—not over good at any time, and at others miserable; nevertheless, I hold up with a good heart, and again feel some confidence that I may last out the year. More I dare not risk in these climes.

"I have just established an Institution which will, I am sure, give you satisfaction. The particulars I shall hereafter communicate, not having time at present. The object is the cultivation of Chinese and Malayan literature, with the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the people. The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca is to be removed here, and united with a Malay College, and both form parts of the Institution, which has a scientific department, and places for professors in natural philosophy, &c. &c. I have put poor Finlayson's name down for the latter, partly as a just compliment I wished to pay him, and partly to raise the character of our Institution, by associating so creditable a name with it. I have also taken the liberty of naming you as a trustee.

"We have about 20,000 dollars in funds, and have voted 15,000 for the buildings. The site is fixed upon near the beach, and the plan and appearance will be very respectable.

"I trust in God this Institution may be the means of civilizing and bettering the condition of millions; it has not been hastily entered into, nor have its possible ad-

vantages been over-rated. Our field is India beyond the Ganges, including the Malayan Archipelago, Australasia, China, Japan, and the islands in the Pacific Ocean—by far the most populous half of the world! Do not, my dear friend, think that I am led to it by a vain ambition of raising a name—it is an act of duty and gratitude only. In these countries has my little independence been gained. In these countries have I passed the most valuable, if not, perhaps, the whole period of my public life. I am linked to them by many a bitter, many a pleasant tie. It is here that I think I may have done some little good, and instead of frittering away the stock of zeal and means that may yet be left me in objects for which I may not be fitted, I am anxious to do all the good I can *here*, where experience has proved to me that my labours will not be thrown away. Ill health forces me to leave Singapore, before even the material arrangements are made for its prosperity; but in providing for its moral improvement, I look to its more certain and permanent advance. Would that I could infuse into the Institution a portion of that spirit and soul by which I would have it animated, as easily as I endow it with lands, &c. It will long be in its infancy, and to arrive at maturity will require all the aid of friends and constant support. It is my last public act, and rise or fall, it will always be a satisfactory reflection, that I have done my best towards it. I pray you befriend it.

"Adieu—I am called to breakfast, and have written this

random letter with so much haste and inattention, that you will hardly make it out.

I remain, now and for ever,

"Yours, most devotedly and affectionately,

"T. S. R."

The following resolutions of the Bengal Government, on Sir Stamford's leaving Singapore, were very satisfactory to him.

"*Fort William, March* 29, 1823.

"The first question for consideration is the nature of the control to be exercised henceforward over the affairs of Singapore, and the proceedings of the local Resident. The arrangement under which that trust was vested in the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlborough originated in the circumstances under which the settlement was founded, and the temporary convenience resulting from it will cease with the relinquishment of the charge by Sir Stamford Raffles, under whose immediate direction the settlement was established, and whose personal superintendence of it, in its early stage, therefore possessed a peculiar value.

"It would seem more naturally to fall within the range of the government of Penang, but there are objections of a different kind to that arrangement. There is a general impression that the prosperity of Singapore must in a great degree be attended with a proportionate deteriora-

tion of Penang. As far as the information furnished by the records of the custom-house at the latter place affords the means of judging, it would not appear that this has yet been the case; but there is no doubt that the feeling prevails among the inhabitants of both settlements generally, and without supposing that it reaches the Government, or that if it did, it would bias their conduct, there seems no such advantage to be contemplated in rendering Singapore dependent on Penang, as to justify the risk of injury to the interests of the rising establishment, from the direct or incidental consequences of such an arrangement. The system of government, and the principles of commercial policy prevailing at the two settlements are moreover radically different, and it is not reasonable to expect that each could be administered under the direction of a subordinate and limited authority with equal effect.

"On the occasion of relieving Sir Stamford Raffles from the superintendence of Singapore, the Governor-General in Council deems it an act of justice to that gentleman, to record his sense of the activity, zeal, judgment, and attention to the principles prescribed for the management of the settlement, which has marked his conduct in the execution of that duty.

"On placing Mr. Crawfurd in charge of the settlement of Singapore, you will be pleased to communicate with him fully on all points, and furnish him with such instructions as you may deem necessary for carrying into effect the orders which are now communicated to you, in reply

to your several despatches relative to the affairs of that settlement."

Sir Stamford framed a short code of laws and regulations for the preservation of peace and good order, in a settlement which existed for upwards of five years entirely on his responsibility, and the confidence reposed in him individually; from this responsibility neither the Bengal Government nor the Court of Directors would relieve him; yet trade increased greatly, and population collected rapidly, in the confidence he inspired. A short extract from Sir Stamford's Report to the Bengal Government, on these Laws and Regulations, will show the reasons which influenced him, and the principles on which he acted:—

"First, I have declared that the port of Singapore is a free port, and the trade thereof open to ships and vessels of every nation, free of duty, equally and alike to all.

"I am satisfied that nothing has tended more to the discomfort and constant jarrings which have hitherto occurred in our remote settlements, than the policy which has dictated the exclusion of the European merchants from all share, much less credit, in the domestic regulation of the settlement, of which they are frequently its most important members. Some degree of legislative power must necessarily exist in every distant dependency. The laws of the mother-country cannot be commensurate

with the wants of the dependency: it has wants of which a remote legislature can very imperfectly judge, and which are sometimes too urgent to admit the delay of reference.

"It may be expected that I should explain the grounds on which I have felt myself authorised to go, even as far as I have done, in legislating, and constituting a power of legislating provisionally for Singapore, and at the same time state the mode in which I consider the legislative and judicial branch of the public administration can be best provided for, in any permanent arrangement to be made by the authorities at home.

"I shall briefly state that an actual and urgent necessity existed for some immediate and provisional arrangements; and that, in adopting those which I have established, it has been my endeavour, while I gave all due weight to local considerations, to adhere, as closely as possible, to those principles, which, from immemorial usage, have ever been considered the most essential and sacred parts of the British constitution. The peculiar tenure on which Singapore is at present politically held, the unusual degree of responsibility still resting on me personally, and the actual circumstances under which a large population and extensive capital have accumulated under my administration, naturally called upon me to adopt all such provisional measures as necessity might dictate. More than this I have not attempted; and I should have but ill fulfilled the high and important trust reposed in me, if, after having congregated so large a portion of my fellow-

creatures, I had left them without something like law and regulation for their security and comfort."

With these views and feelings Sir Stamford selected twelve of the most respectable merchants, and appointed them to act as magistrates for one year. A list was ordered to be kept of persons eligible for the magistracy, from whom and the ex-magistrates the Resident was in future to appoint twelve annually. Two of these magistrates were to sit with the Resident in court, to decide in civil and criminal cases; and two were to act in rotation each week for the minor duties of this office. Juries were to consist either of five Europeans, or four Europeans and three respectable natives. In criminal cases the jury might be either purely European, or purely native.

The Resident's Court was to assemble once a week, the Magistrates' twice, but their office was to be open daily.

It will be evident that this simple arrangement, which had never before been attempted, is well adapted to bring the ignorant natives acquainted with a knowledge of right principles of action, and to inspire them with respect for those who thus administered justice; but Sir Stamford did not rest satisfied with the mere enaction of punishment, his object was also the prevention of crime, an equal or even more important duty of a legislator: with this view, gambling and cock-fighting were prohibited, and declared to be illegal; the persons found to have conducted a gaming-table or cock-pit were liable to the con-

fiscation of their property, and banishment from the settlement, and no gaming debts could be recognised by the magistrates, but the winners were to be compelled to restore the amount to the losers.

The Bengal Government highly approved of this effort to check the vicious propensities of the natives; but after Sir Stamford's return to England, Mr. Crawfurd, whom he had placed in charge of the settlement, anxious to raise a revenue at any cost, established Government licenses for indulgence in both these vices, and they were in consequence farmed out to the highest bidder. The Grand Jury soon gave a proof that Sir Stamford judged wisely in employing European merchants as guardians of the public peace and morals; for on the assembling of the Court of Judicature, they presented a bill against such a public sanction of vice, as appearing to them deeply to affect the interest of the community of Singapore; stating that "the subject which they (the Grand Jury) presented is one to which they advert with some degree of delicacy, because they are aware that two opinions exist on the subject; and, secondly, because it is a source of revenue to the Honourable Company. However, as only one sentiment prevails in the minds of the Grand Jurors with regard to the propriety or expediency of licensing public gambling-houses, they consider it would be a dereliction of their duty were they not to present the system as, in their opinion, fraught with considerable evil to the community. To them it appears as detrimental to the security

of property, to the peace and good order of the settlement, and to the moral character of the lower classes of its inhabitants, as it is repugnant to the laws of their country. They do not deem it necessary to enter into any lengthened arguments to prove the truth of this proposition. Suffice it to observe, that their opinion is formed on the experience of this settlement for the last five years; and that of fourteen bills of indictment, which have been preferred during the present sitting of the Grand Jury, no less than three of the offences originated in, or were connected with, public gambling-houses."

The Recorder stated, "There is no doubt but that gambling-houses are public nuisances at common law, and indictable as such. It was not at all necessary for you to have stated in your Presentment, that you felt any delicacy on the subject because the gambling-houses in Singapore were a source of revenue to the Government. You have done no more than your duty in presenting them," &c. It appears that this vicious system of legalizing vice amongst the lower orders of society has in consequence been given up, and Sir Stamford's original laws and regulations enforced. Above all, it must not be forgotten that Sir Stamford declared, "As the condition of slavery, under any denomination whatever, cannot be recognised within the jurisdiction of the British authority, all persons who may have been so imported, transferred, or sold as slaves or slave-debtors, since the 29th day of February, 1819, are entitled to claim their freedom, on application to the

registrar, as hereafter provided; and it is hereby declared that no individual can hereafter be imported for sale, transferred or sold as a slave or slave-debtor, or, having his or her *fixed residence* under the protection of the British authorities at Singapore, can hereafter be considered or treated as a slave, under any denomination, condition, colour, or pretence whatever.

"Hereafter, a continued residence of twelve months at Singapore shall be considered to constitute a fixed residence, and to entitle the party to all the benefits of the British administration."

Sir Stamford had the gratification to receive from those best qualified to appreciate the commercial advantages of Singapore, the following address on his departure from the settlement. His feelings are, however, best expressed in his replies, which are annexed.

Address of the Merchants of Singapore, on the occasion of the departure of the Honourable Sir T. S. Raffles in 1823.

"TO THE HONOURABLE SIR T. S. RAFFLES.

"HONOURABLE SIR,

"It is with peculiar satisfaction that I find myself made the channel of conveying to you the thanks and acknowledgments of the mercantile community of Singapore, a body distinguished for good sense and discrimination, and who have at once felt the benefits of your rule and enjoyed the best means of appreciating your exertions. It is scarcely necessary for myself, who have for so many

years had the advantage of your confidence and friendship, and the honour of serving under your government, to say how cordially I join in all the sentiments expressed in the address, and I shall only take this opportunity, when we are on the point of being separated by a long interval of time and place, to renew to you the assurance of my affectionate attachment to your person, and my respect and esteem for your public talents.

"I remain, with sincere regard,

"Your faithful and obedient Servant,

(Signed) "J. CRAWFURD,

"*Resident.*"

"*Singapore, June* 5, 1823."

"TO SIR T. S. RAFFLES, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF FORT MARLBOROUGH.

"HONOURABLE SIR,

"The period of your approaching and final departure is one of peculiar interest to the commercial community of this place, and we the undersigned members of it gladly seize the opportunity which it affords us of indulging in the expression of those feelings towards your person which the occasion is so well calculated to excite.

"At such a moment we cannot be suspected of panegyric, when we advert to the distinguished advantages which the commercial interests of our nation at large, and ourselves more especially, have derived from your personal

exertions. To your unwearied zeal, your vigilance, and your comprehensive views, we owe at once the foundation and maintenance of a settlement unparalleled for the liberality of the principles on which it has been established: principles, the operation of which has converted, in a period short beyond all example, a haunt of pirates into the abode of enterprize, security, and opulence.

"While we acknowledge our own peculiar obligations to you, we reflect at the same time with pride and satisfaction upon the active and beneficent means by which you have promoted and patronized the diffusion of intellectual and moral improvement, and we anticipate, with confidence, their happy influence in advancing the cause of humanity and civilization.

"We cannot take leave of the author of so many benefits without emotion, or without expressing our sorrow for the loss of his protection and his society. Accept, Sir, we beseech you, without distinction of tribe or nation, the expression of our sincere respect and esteem, and be assured of the deep interest we shall ever take in your own prosperity, as well as in the happiness of those who are most tenderly related to you.

"We remain, with the deepest respect,

"Your most obedient Servants.

[*Signed by the European and Native Merchants of Singapore.*]

"*Singapore, June 5th*, 1823."

TO JOHN CRAWFURD, ESQ. RESIDENT OF SINGAPORE.

"SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your letter with the address from the mercantile community of Singapore, and you will oblige me by submitting to that highly respectable body the accompanying reply.

"My experience enables me to bear ample testimony to the disinterestedness and honour of the principal merchants of Singapore, European and Native, and while it is a high satisfaction to me to find such truly respectable establishments formed in the early period of the settlement, it can be no less a proportionate gratification to me personally to receive from men so distinguished, so unexpected an expression of their public opinion in favour of the measures which I have felt it my duty to adopt for the general prosperity of the place.

"The sentiments of respect and attachment which you are pleased to express towards my person are most grateful to my feelings, and while I thank you most sincerely for the kind and handsome manner in which you have conveyed them, you must allow me in return to wish you all prosperity in the discharge of the important duties to which you are now called, and for which you are so highly and eminently qualified, and at the same time that you may enjoy all happiness and comfort in your social and domestic circle.

"With an affectionate and sincere regard,

"Believe me, yours truly,

(Signed) "T. S. RAFFLES."

"*Singapore. June 9th*, 1823."

TO ALEXANDER MORGAN, ESQ. AND OTHER EUROPEAN AND NATIVE MERCHANTS OF SINGAPORE.

" GENTLEMEN,

" Mr. Crawfurd has delivered to me the address which you have so kindly and delicately drawn up on the occasion of my departure.

" Under the peculiar circumstances of my personal connexion with the establishment of Singapore, it is impossible to suppose that I can be indifferent to any of its interests, far less to its commercial interests, of which I consider you to be the representatives.

" It has happily been consistent with the policy of Great Britain, and accordant with the principles of the East India Company, that Singapore should be established as a *Free Port;* that no sinister, no sordid view, no considerations either of political importance or pecuniary advantage, should interfere with the broad and liberal principles on which the British interests have been established. Monopoly and exclusive privileges, against which public opinion has long raised its voice, are here unknown; and while the free Port of Singapore is allowed to continue and prosper, as it hitherto has done, the policy and liberality of the East India Company, by whom the settlement was founded, and under whose protection and control it is still administered, can never be disputed.

" That Singapore will long and always remain a free Port, and that no taxes on trade or industry will be established to check its future rise and prosperity, I can

have no doubt. I am justified in saying thus much, on the authority of the Supreme Government of India, and on the authority of those who are most likely to have weight in the councils of our nation at home.

"For the public and peculiar mark of respect which you, Gentlemen, have been desirous of showing me on the occasion of my departure from the settlement, I beg that you will accept my most sincere thanks. I know the feeling which dictated it, I acknowledge the delicacy with which it has been conveyed, and I prize most highly the gratifying terms to me personally in which it has been expressed.

"During my residence among you, it has afforded me the highest satisfaction to witness the prudence, the regularity, the honourable character of your proceedings; and when I quit you for other lands, I shall be proud to bear testimony in your favour, not only as your due, but as the best proof of the sure and certain result which the adoption of liberal and enlightened principles on the part of Government must always ensure.

"There are some among you, Gentlemen, who had to encounter difficulties on the first establishment of the freedom of the Port, and against whom party spirit and its concomitant, partial judgment, was allowed for a time to operate. In the commanding station in which my public duty has placed me, I have had an opportunity of, in a great measure, investigating and determining the merits of the case, and the result renders it a duty on my

part, and which I perform with much satisfaction, to express my most unqualified approbation of the honourable principles which actuated the merchants of Singapore on that occasion.

"I am not aware, Gentlemen, that I have done any of you a favour; that is to say, that I have done to any man amongst you that which I would not have done to his neighbour, or more than what my duty required of me, acting, as I have done, on the liberal and enlightened principles authorized by my superiors. My best endeavours have not been wanting to establish such principles, and to sketch such outlines, as have appeared to me necessary for the future prosperity of the settlement; and in doing this it has been most satisfactory to me to have found in you that ready concurrence, and at all times that steady support, which was essential to my government and authority.

"May you, Gentlemen, English and Native, and as the language of your address expresses it, without class or distinction, long continue in the honourable and distinguished course which you have so happily commenced, and may the principles which you respect and act upon long distinguish you among the merchants of the East.

"I can never forget that the Singapore Institution could not have been founded without your aid. The liberal manner in which you came forward, to spare from your hard earnings so large a portion for the improvement and civilization of the surrounding tribes, and in the

furtherance of general knowledge and science, would at once stamp the character of the Singapore merchant, even if it did not daily come forward on more ostensible occasions.

"I am most grateful for the kind expression of your personal regards to me, and those who may be dear to me; and, in return, beg you will accept my most sincere and heartfelt wishes for your health, comfort, and prosperity.

"I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

"Your's most faithfully,

(Signed) "T. S. RAFFLES."

"*Singapore, June 9th*, 1823.

Sir Stamford now returned to Bencoolen, and on the voyage wrote the letters from which the following are extracts:—

TO ————.

"*Off Borneo, June* 12, 1823.

"Having placed Crawfurd in charge of Singapore, and sailed from thence on the 9th instant, we are thus far on our return to Bencoolen, being under the necessity of touching at Batavia on the way, the ship having goods to land there. Don't alarm yourself at this last intimation, for I am most peaceably inclined, and do not intend to land.

"You will hear from Bengal that all my proceedings and plans at Singapore have been approved; that Crawfurd has been appointed Resident immediately under the

Bengal Government. This is exactly what I wished; and I am happy to say everything has turned out to my entire satisfaction.

"I have not, as you may suppose, remained at Singapore eight months for nothing; two-thirds of the time have, no doubt, been spent in pain and annoyance, from the dreadful head-aches I am doomed to suffer in this country, but the remaining third has been actively employed.

"I have had everything to new-mould from first to last; to introduce a system of energy, purity, and encouragement; to remove nearly all the inhabitants, and to re-settle them; to line out towns, streets, and roads; to level the high and fill up the low lands; to give property in the soil and rights to the people; to lay down principles, and sketch institutions for the domestic order and comfort of the place, as well as its future character and importance; to look for a century or two beforehand, and provide for what Singapore may one day become, by the adoption of all such measures of forecast as reason and experience can suggest.

"That I have not forgotten the moral interests and character of the settlement, the establishment of the Singapore Institution will be the best proof. I have given it as free a constitution as possible; and Singapore is now, perhaps, the only place in India where slavery cannot exist.

"Sophia bears up very well. We expect to reach Bencoolen by the 10th of July."

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*At Sea, off the Coast of Borneo, June 14th*, 1823.

"My dear Cousin,

"We left Singapore on the 9th, and are thus far on our return to Bencoolen, with the intention of touching at Batavia on the way. My time was so fully occupied while closing my administration at Singapore, that I really had it not in my power to sit down, as I ought to have done, to thank you most sincerely for your letter announcing the arrival of our dear little Ella; it was the first account we received, and I need not attempt to express the joy and gladness which it diffused throughout our domestic circle. Sophia's patience was almost tired out, and the news has given her almost a new life. I am sorry that I have been obliged to leave Singapore before the printing of the papers on the formation of the Singapore Institution was completed. Printing in this country is, indeed, most tedious and expensive work. I have left orders that several copies be sent to you by the very first opportunity, and you will perceive that I have put your name down as a Trustee. I laid the foundation-stone of the buildings three days before I embarked.

"Mr. Crawfurd is now the Resident of Singapore; and, in anticipation of my return to Europe at the end of the year, I have resigned all further charge of the place. It

is a most promising settlement, and is fast realizing my most sanguine views regarding it.

"We have under our charge for Europe my sister Mary Anne's little boy Charles, and are thinking of preparations for the voyage home, which, with the blessing of God, we hope to commence with the new year, touching at the Cape and at St. Helena on the way, so as to be with you in May or June. My health has now become worse, but Sophia's is much improved.

"You know by experience the misery of ship-board, and will, therefore, not expect that I should, in such a situation, write you a very long and interesting letter. I write these few lines with a very unsteady hand and giddy head; but as I may have a chance of sending them by some vessel about to sail from Batavia, I am unwilling to lose the opportunity of writing at all."

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*At Sea, off the Coast of Borneo, July*, 1823.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"It is quite an age since we heard from you, and we have been somewhat disappointed in not receiving a line from you by Crawfurd, or, at any rate, by the ship in which he came down. He, however, brought Sophia your bottle of ether, which has proved that you did not forget us: accept our best thanks for it.

"It will, I am sure, be satisfactory to you to know that all my arrangements have been approved in Bengal, and

that I have cause to be highly satisfied with the considerate attention and support which I have uniformly met with from Mr. Adams's Government. They appear to have entered into, and fully understood my views, and, what is more, fully appreciated them. I placed Crawfurd in full charge before my departure.

"I give you this parish news, because I am confident it will interest you, and be at the same time satisfactory to you to know, that however annoyed I may have been for a time, the close of my administration at Singapore has been just what I wished.

"You will probably hear much of my College, and the laws of the former: the pamphlet now in the press will give you all information, and of the latter I have not time to enter into the details. It was impossible that, after collecting together so great a population, and so much wealth as is now accumulated at Singapore, I could, with any satisfaction to myself, leave the place without establishing something like law and regulation. The constitution which I have given to Singapore is certainly the purest and most liberal in India; but this, perhaps, is not saying much for it.

"I left Singapore on the 9th instant. I am forced to touch at Batavia on my way to Bencoolen, very much against my will; but the Captain has goods to land, and no other opportunity was likely to offer of getting round. The Dutch will be a little astonished, but I cannot help it; I do not intend to land.

"You will be gratified to hear, that although I was dreadfully harassed and fagged before leaving Singapore, I feel no ill effects from it, and now do not have a dreadful head-ache above once or twice a-week, instead of for two or three days together as heretofore. Lady Raffles also bears the voyage better than I expected; and upon the whole we have great cause to be thankful for the comparatively tolerable health we now enjoy. So that I hope we may yet last out till the end of the year, after which it would be madness to attempt to hold out in this country.

"Write me fully and frequently to Bencoolen, and say what I can but do for you at home. God bless you, my dear friend; and that you may enjoy health and prosperity is the ardent wish of your most affectionate friend."

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*Java Seas, July* 20, 1823.

"My dear Friend,

"Before we arrive at Batavia, where recollections of the past and change of scene may occupy my whole attention, let me remind you of two or three little things in which I require your good offices. First and foremost stands my desire to obtain for Sir Everard Home the fœtus of the tiger, lion, whale, rhinoceros, &c. &c.

"In the next place, a particular description of the Jackia formosa, and memorandum for the life or memoir of our departed friend, to be completed with the assistance of his brother.

"I wish you to send me drawings of all the varieties of nutmegs in your possession. I shall have much to say respecting the cultivation of the nutmeg at Bencoolen, and it would be interesting to enliven the description with an account of the natural growth, habitude, &c. I have already a large collection, upwards of ten varieties.

"I enclose you my decision on the slave question. Do not forget the dwarf bull and cow to Bencoolen before I go.

"Adieu, my good friend, and God bless you and yours."

TO ————.

"*Batavia Roads, June* 28, 1823.

"We arrived here on the 25th. Sophia was taken on shore on the same day, and is now under the hospitable roof of Macquoid, where she is gaining health and strength to enable her to get through the remainder of the voyage. This is Saturday, and we hope to be off on Tuesday morning.

"For myself, I remain on board according to the resolution I took on embarking. I have, however, had an opportunity of seeing all the English gentlemen, and have no particular cause to regret the necessity which forced us to touch here, as I have been able to see the sort of *material* of which the Dutch Governor General is made. I deemed it respectful and proper to send Nilson on shore, telling him, I was in the roads, and that Sophia would land on account of her health; but that it was neither my wish

nor intention to land. His surprise and apprehension, however, on the occasion were such that he would not ask Nilson a single question, but returned an answer to my note verbally by Macquoid.

"In the evening, however, he thought a written acknowledgment necessary. Had Bonaparte returned to life, and anchored in the Downs, it would not have excited greater agitation in England, than my arrival has done here, though the sensation might have been very different. Here fear and apprehension are everything, and to these all courtesy, principle, and interest give way.

"I send you the correspondence which has taken place on the subject, as it is rather amusing."

No. I.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE BARON VAN DER CAPELLEN.

"*Tuesday Evening.*

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency of my arrival in Batavia Roads, in the ship Hero of Malown, in which I am returning to Bencoolen, being under the necessity of touching at this port, for the purpose of landing some consignments from Bengal.

"I trust our detention will not exceed two or three days; but as Lady Raffles is in a very delicate state of health and suffers much at sea, the advantage of going on shore will be a great relief to her.

"Captain Hull, of my personal staff, will have the honour of delivering this letter.

"I have the honour to be,
with the highest consideration, &c. &c.
(Signed) "T. S. RAFFLES."

No. II.

TO MR. LE CHEV. THOS. S. RAFFLES.

"*Batavia, Juin* 25, 1823.

"MONSIEUR,

"J'ai reçu avec une extrême surprise la lettre que M. le Capitaine Hull m'a remise de votre part.

"J'ai chargé M. Macquoid de vous donner verbalement ma réponse, et ne doute point qu'il ne s'acquitte avec exactitude de cette commission.

"Je veux cependant ajouter encore à ce qu'il vous dira de ma part, que j'étois loin de m'attendre à vous voir arriver à *Batavia* après tout ce qui a eu lieu depuis 1818.

"Vous ne pouviez ignorer, Monsieur, qu'une pareille visite, que vous auriez pu éviter, ne peut que m'être extrêmement désagréable.

"L'indisposition de Madame *Raffles* est cependant un motif que je respecte trop pour m'opposer à votre séjour à Batavia pendant quelques jours.

"Je regrette, Monsieur, de ne pouvoir, après tout ce qui a eu lieu, vous accueillir, comme je me fais toujours un devoir et plaisir de recevoir les fonctionnaires d'un

Gouvernement si intimement lié avec celui que j'ai l'honneur de représenter ici.

"Vous connoissez trop bien l'état des choses, Monsieur, pour ce que j'ai besoin de vous observer, que toute communication ou entrevue personnelle entre nous doit être évitée. Je ne pourrais que répéter de nouveau toute la série de plaintes que j'ai cru de mon devoir d'adresser à mon Gouvernement comme à vôtre, depuis plusieurs années, contre un grand nombre de vos actions dirigées contre les intérêts de mon Souverain; une pareille communication n'offrirait aucun agrément ni pour vous ni pour moi-même.

"J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

(Signed) "VAN DER CAPELLEN."

No. III.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY BARON VAN DER CAPELLEN.

"*On board the Hero of Malown, Batavia Roads, Thursday morning.*

"SIR,

"Your Excellency's letter was delivered to me during the night.

"I am sorry that what was intended merely as a mark of respect, should have given rise to the extreme surprise which you express. I felt it right to inform your Excellency of my being in the roads of Batavia, and I stated the circumstance which had led to it.

"You would appear to have been misinformed, in supposing that it was my intention or my desire to land or court a personal interview. My landing in Java, while under your Excellency's government, could only have been attended with painful feelings, public as well as private, and there certainly has been nothing in the conduct of your Excellency, which could have rendered me particularly desirous of personal communication or acquaintance.

"I caused it to be publicly known before I embarked, that I neither intended nor wished to land; and under these circumstances, I trust you will admit that the proscription you have thought proper to issue might, in common courtesy, have been delayed, until a solicitation on my part might have called for it.

"Your Excellency also appears to have been misinformed, when you state that I might or should have avoided touching at Batavia, knowing how disagreeable it would be to you. I can assure you it was a matter of absolute necessity, in every way against my wishes and feelings; though I must say, I never for a moment supposed it would have given rise to any apprehensions or unpleasant feelings on your part.

"You have, Sir, thought proper to refer to political differences, and to the complaints which you have thought proper to make against my proceedings, which you considered to be directed against the interests of your Sovereign; on which it is necessary for me to call to your

recollection, that I have at least had similar grounds of complaining of some of the proceedings of your government, and that the very acts on my part, which you call into question, arose solely from a conviction, that such proceedings on your Excellency's part were directed against the interests of my country. The decision, as to whose views on the subject have been most correct, remains with higher authorities; and while I cheerfully give your Excellency the credit of having acted as you deemed best for the interests of your country, I hope you will judge equally charitably of the motives which may have dictated my conduct.

"I have thought the above explanation due as well to your Excellency as myself, as I should have presumed you to have been as incapable of offering a personal incivility, as I am of receiving one, without noticing it as it deserves.

"I did not, Sir, consider it necessary to request your permission for Lady Raffles to land, as I could not suppose it to be so in the present state of civilized society; but I have now respectfully to request that, as she is in delicate health, and far advanced in her pregnancy, your Excellency will insure her a safe passport to the ship whenever she may be desirous of re-embarking.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "T. S. RAFFLES."

This correspondence may be left without comment. It

is not necessary to add more than that the request contained in the closing lines was granted: and that, though Sir Stamford himself remained on board, during the week of the vessel's stay at Batavia, and did not once visit the shore, the people of the Island were not to be restrained; and he there held as it were a continual levee every day, people of all ranks flocking to him.

CHAPTER XIX.

Arrival at Bencoolen—Plans for the future—Freedom of the port of Singapore—Account of the Padries—State of health—Death of friends—Death of child—Anxiety about the arrival of the ship Fame—Determines to embark in the Borneo—Arrival of the Fame—Embarkation—Burning of the ship—Appeal to the Court of Directors—Extract from Memorandum book, for regulation of time—Embarks in the Mariner—Storm off the Cape—Arrival at St. Helena—Landing at Plymouth.

Sir Stamford had now closed his official connexion with Singapore, the most interesting object of the latter part of his public life in the East, and he proposed to have passed the few remaining months of his residence in India, in completing and arranging his affairs, both public and private. During his residence in these regions, he had devoted himself with all his mind, health, and strength, for twenty years, to the duties of the several stations entrusted to him, and he had combined with the performance of those duties, which peculiar circumstances had made more responsible and arduous than usual in such situations, an unwearied pursuit of the literature of the several countries within his reach. He also pursued, as will have been perceived, the study of chemistry, geology, and natural history, and in fact was unceasingly occupied in the acquirement of various kinds of knowledge.

The following are extracts from the letters written during this period of his residence in Sumatra.

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*Bencoolen, November* 1, 1823.

"Crawfurd has promised most solemnly to adhere to and uphold all my arrangements.

* * * * *

"I lament to observe by the papers that poor Finlayson breathed his last in the way home. Poor fellow, I never had much hope that he would be spared; yet his death has been to me a severe shock, admiring and valuing as I did, his talents, disposition, and principles.

"It is only a week ago that we had another death in our family: Mr. Drummond, a gentleman who had come out to us highly recommended from home, and was embarking largely in our agricultural pursuits, was carried off in less than twelve hours. I know not how it is, but these continual breaches in our domestic circle seem to be sad warnings.

"I had hoped to have got away by the end of the present year, but an accumulation of details, and the arrival of a detachment of troops most unexpectedly sent by the Bengal Government to the northern part of the Island, may keep me for some time. My health for the last week or two has rather improved, but I am still subject to the same attacks which so often and so completely overpowered me at Singapore.

"Lady Raffles, though entirely recovered from her last

confinement, is in a very delicate state, and it was only last night that we were forced to apply thirty leeches, and have recourse to warm baths and laudanum, to keep down inflammation.

"My time has been so occupied since my return, that I have hardly been able to arrange the papers of our friend Jack. I prepare to take them all hence with me. They are not very extensive, but they are generally to the point, and valuable.

"We are desirous of placing an inscription over his grave, and I have written to Calder to send an appropriate stone from Calcutta. I learn from his brother that his age was only twenty-seven; he died at Bencoolen, at the Government-house, on the 15th September, 1823. I must beg of you to do the last kind office, of adding to the above particulars a few words expressive of his character and attainments."

TO ———.

"*Bencoolen, November* 4, 1823.

"Sophia, I am sorry to say, has had an attack of fever, and alarmed us very much, but she is improving; and if we get away this season all may yet be well.

"I propose on the voyage hence, if my health admits, to sketch out something like an account of the establishment of Singapore, with a description of the place, map, &c. Something of the kind seems necessary for general information.

"Our little Flora expands daily."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

November 6, 1823.

" This is the last opportunity that will offer for writing to England, before we ourselves intend embarking.

" The voyage out looked long, and was long, but we shall no longer draw a lengthening chain, each day will bring us nearer to that spot where all our best affections are centered, and we shall hope to land in far better spirits than the day we parted. That indeed was a dismal day; and yet, if we do meet again, shall we not forget it?

" I am sorry to say that we have had another death in our family, and that I have been under great alarm for Lady Raffles. She had first presented me with another little girl, and recovered from her confinement, when she was attacked by a most severe fever.

* * * * *

" By touching at the Cape of Good Hope, which we hope to reach from this in six weeks, remaining there ten days, and then stopping at St. Helena, which we should reach in ten days, and proceeding from thence to England, in seven weeks more, we hope to break the length of the passage, and to keep up her strength, as well as that of the infant, by occasional rest and refreshment.

" I believe I have already informed your Grace, that I had delivered over charge of Singapore, and that it only remains for me to wind up my administration here."

* * * * *

TO MR. MURDOCH.

"*Bencoolen, November* 14, 1823.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have received your kind and friendly letters down to the 23rd of January last, and feel most grateful for the warm and kind interest which you continue to take in our welfare and happiness. Indeed, I hardly know how to thank you sufficiently, except it is by saying that we justly appreciate it.

"As this may be the last opportunity afforded of writing to England before we ourselves may embark, I am anxious not to let it pass without once more praying your forgiveness for all my omissions in the way of letter-writing. I feel conscious that I have not written to you so often nor so fully as I ought to have done, and that I have a long arrear of debt, which I fear I shall never discharge, unless you will accept of the only composition which it is in my power to offer—the assurance that, though I may not have written much, I have not felt the less, and that both Lady Raffles and myself have not only retained our respect and affection for you and your family unabated, but that time and distance have only tended to strengthen the feeling into that kind of affectionate attachment and regard, that in returning to Europe, we look forward to the pleasure of seeing you, as to the meeting with those of our own blood and family.

"Our plan is to leave this about February, or so as to

make England in July; but so fatally have our anticipations been disappointed hitherto, that I hardly dare look forward with confidence to its execution. Lady Raffles had hardly recovered from her last confinement, when she was attacked by a violent fever, which has hardly yet left her, and she is still confined to her couch. I am scarcely able to hold up my head two days together; but yet we will hope that our period of banishment is nearly terminated, and that we may, with the blessing of God, see you in the course of next summer.

"What may be my future plan of life is still more uncertain; but if I am fortunate enough to reach England alive, I am certain that no inducement shall ever lead me to revisit India. I have already passed nearly thirty years of my life in the Company's service, and have always been placed in situations of so much responsibility, that my mind has always been on the stretch, and never without some serious anxiety.

"I naturally look forward to retirement, when these anxieties may cease, and I can enjoy that serenity which is above all things necessary for the peace and comfort of this life. Accustomed, however, to activity, and necessarily to habits of business, I am aware that I cannot be idle and happy at the same time, and therefore I shall be ready to enter with some degree of zeal upon any pursuits that appear to promise eventual satisfaction.

"I enclose you a copy of the address presented to me by the merchants of Singapore, on the occasion of my

resigning charge of that settlement, preparatory to my proceeding to Europe, and hope that, in the pledge which I gave them, of the *permanency* of the freedom of the Port, without duties or restrictions of any kind, I shall be supported and borne out by the authorities at home. I cannot but think that we have now taken too firm a root at Singapore, to render it even possible that it should be delivered over to the Dutch, and therefore I did not advert to such a possible contingency. Hereafter I hope to present you with a pamphlet, containing the particulars of the establishment of the Singapore Institution, as well as with the regulations which I have adopted there for the administration of justice, until more regular provisions are made. They will, I think, meet your approbation. I notice what you say regarding the publication of some account of the establishment of Singapore, with a map annexed, and thank you for the hint. I have little to say on the subject, more than has been repeated over and over again in my official despatches, though perhaps in different words; but as these are likely to moulder away in Leadenhall Street, without perhaps being twice read, it may be useful should I attempt a more public exposition of my sentiments and views. Indeed, after what has taken place, and particularly with reference to the extraordinary assertion of Lord Bathurst as to the nature of my appointment, something of a public nature will be required from me; and although I am far from wishing to obtrude myself or my proceedings on the

public, I feel confident, that the more my conduct is investigated and known, the more credit will at any rate be given to my motives; so that, in this point of view, I have rather an inducement to publish than otherwise.

"Should, therefore, my health admit, I shall probably devote a few hours in the day, during the voyage home, to condense into a convenient space what I think may be interesting on the subject, to be revised after my arrival in England, according to circumstances. It is not my wish, any more than my interest, to run counter to the authorities that be; but, as a public man, I hardly know how I can pass over the direful sacrifices made by Lord Castlereagh without remark. My sole object, in a political point of view, is to do justice to the cause I have undertaken, and I think it only requires to be fairly and honestly stated, to make its way wherever it is known.

"According to my present notion of the subject, it occurs to me that, by way of introduction, I might enlarge on the course and value of the trade of the Eastern Islands and China, its past history and present state, with a description of the more interesting points of character among the inhabitants, and some account of the geography and natural history of the different countries. I might then give a short, but pointed account of the question with the Dutch; the reasons which induced the establishment at Singapore; how that establishment was effected; the principle on which it was maintained, and the rapidity of its rise; a short description of the place,

its inhabitants, productions, and localities, might follow, with an account of its institutions, and an appendix, containing the regulations for the Chinese and Malay College, &c.

" You will hardly believe, that at the close of my administration of that settlement, I received the unreserved approbation of the Government of Bengal of all the measures of a public nature that I had adopted. I have, however, been opposed throughout in establishing the *freedom* of the Port, and anything like a liberal mode of management, and not only by the Penang Government, but also in Bengal. The Bengal merchants, or rather one or two of them, whom I could name, would have preferred the old system, by which they might have monopolized the early resources of the place, and thus checked its progress to importance. My views have been more enlarged, and as the authorities at home have fortunately not yet interfered with the details, I have taken upon myself to widen the base, and to look to a more important superstructure. I have given the place something like a constitution, a representative body, and fashioned all my regulations more with reference to the pure principles of the British constitution, than upon the *half-cast, or country-born* regulations of our Indian administration, which, however well they may be suited to the circumstances of continental India, are altogether inapplicable to the state of society in the Eastern Islands. This has brought upon me what may be called a local opposition-

party in Bengal, and I must be content to look for the just appreciation of my views and plans rather in England than in India.

"I was the other day looking over the translation you were so kind to make for me from Mendez Pinto relating to Java; and though he may exaggerate numbers, and tell a story with embellishments, his localities are so correct, that, as far as I can judge from this instance, I am inclined to think he deserves more credit than he has yet received. His statements regarding Borneo, and other countries of the Archipelago less known than Java, would be interesting; and if from the history of the last-mentioned island we could vouch for his correctness, it might set people thinking of what was *possibly* the former condition of the Archipelago, before the valour of Portugal broke down its power, and the sordid policy of the Dutch destroyed its spirit and energies. It would be an odd coincidence, if, as Marsden has undertaken the cause of Marco Polo, on account of what he said of Sumatra, I should be the advocate of Pinto from the relation he gives of Java.

"Your observations respecting the bark of the nutmeg-tree have not pass unnoticed, and I have now a parcel of the bark preparing for Europe as an experiment: it does not, however, appear to me to be peculiarly fragrant."

In returning to Bencoolen Sir Stamford had to encounter once more a scene of trial, sickness, and death.

His few remaining friends fell a sacrifice to the climate; his family it pleased God to afflict with illness; and it seemed as if his life was to end with his labours. It is not easy to describe the state of anxiety in which the two last months were spent: ready and anxious to leave a place in which so many earthly ties of happiness had been broken, and yet seeing hour after hour pass away, without the means of escape, and with scarcely a hope that life would be prolonged from one day to another.

"The following letters give a lively picture of the state of his feelings at this period:—

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*Bencoolen, November* 15, 1823.

"My dear Cousin,

"As this may be the last opportunity of writing before we ourselves embark, I am anxious not to let it pass without endeavouring to repay some part of the heavy debt standing against me on the score of omissions in letter-writing.

* * * * *

"We have suffered much in health and spirits since we said farewell; but our hearts are the same; and we trust that, if we can regain our health by a change of climate, there may yet be many happy days in store for us, even in this sublunary and transitory scene.

* * * * *

"Of this place I have nothing at present very particular

to communicate, or that will not as conveniently be left for personal intercourse; but it will be satisfactory for you to know that we are doing wonders with our schools, and that our Bible Society is not inactive: the two missionaries whom we have here, Messrs. Robinson and Ward, are very zealous; and Reports are now framing to be laid before the General Meeting on the 1st of January, which will, I hope, prove that we have not been inactive; and that the results are as great as we could rationally have expected in so short a time.

* * * * *

"Considerable interest has lately been excited by the progress in Sumatra of the Mahomedan sect, usually termed the Padries, or more particularly the Putcho or Whites, in opposition to the Elaws or Blacks, by which latter term they designate all who do not embrace their doctrine.

"It was to the ravages of these people that I alluded in my account of the journey to Menangkabu, as having repeatedly pillaged and burnt the capital of that celebrated seat of the Malay empire; and it is with them that the Dutch, since their occupation of Padang, have been involved in a desperate and relentless war, neither party giving quarter, and prices being set upon the heads of the principal Chiefs. The first notice of this powerful sect, which had its origin near Mount Ophir, was about ten years ago; but it has been during the last three, and principally since the occupation of Padang by the Dutch, that

it has become formidable, and occasioned alarm for the safety of the European settlements on the west coast of Sumatra.

"The policy of the British Government has hitherto been that of neutrality, considering that the question related principally to peculiar doctrines of Mahomedanism, in which the natives might be best left to themselves: but the success of the Padries during the last year, in which they have overrun nearly the whole of the rich and populous countries of the interior, has at length called for measures of decision even on the part of the British authority. A considerable force was detached from Bengal in September last, direct to Nattal; and measures are in progress for the adoption of offensive operations, should negociation fail. The tenets of the Padries require, that all Mahomedans shall refrain from the use of opium, from cock-fighting, and other Malayan vices – that they should wear a peculiar dress, and submit to ecclesiastical authority. The Malays, who form the population of the coast districts, are averse to this change, as altering their habits, and departing from their ancient customs; and the European Governments are actually employed in protecting them against the improvement which would necessarily follow from their adoption of the tenets of the Padries.

"It is not to be denied that, with people of so low a state of civilization as those in the interior of Sumatra must be, success will too often make them wanton; and that their practice is frequently inconsistent with their

doctrines—this is naturally expected—and the love of plunder and thirst of revenge over those who are most obstinate in resisting them is too often predominant.

"The resources of these people seem considerable; and their engagements with the Dutch have taught them to know their own strength. Their power in the interior of Sumatra may now be considered as completely established, and various speculations are formed as to the result.

"We thus see one of the finest islands in the world, on which we have had establishments for upwards of a century, without once venturing to improve the condition of the people, or to send one Christian Missionary among them, giving way before the desolating influence of the false prophet of Mecca, and becoming rapidly a strong Mahomedan resting ground, with our eyes open, and with scarcely one effort made by ourselves to oppose them by a purer faith. The missionaries we have lately employed in Sumatra are too few in number to do much. That they will do good, as far as their influence reaches, there can be no doubt; but that influence will long be limited to our immediate stations, unless we increase their numbers. Instead of three missionaries, we ought to have three hundred; and the object of these three hundred should be to initiate three thousand of the natives to act as missionaries in the interior. There are yet hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, in Sumatra, who at this moment possess no religion at all, among whom we *may* include the Battas. The Padries are now on their very borders, with

the Koran in one hand, and the sword in the other; and the only missionary whom we have is an isolated individual, residing under the protection of the British factory at Tappanooly, but who has not the means of penetrating into the interior. This individual, however, (Mr. Burton,) has translated part of the Scriptures into the Batta language, and his success in this respect is highly praiseworthy to his application and character; but alone he can do little beyond the influence of our own factory, which does not extend one mile inland.

* * * * *

"It would be useful to draw public attention to this subject now, particularly as it has excited much interest in India; and is the only cause likely to detain me here longer than I could wish. I cannot well leave the coast till some decisive measure is adopted; and yet in politics who can see the end? My desire is to avoid all involvement as much as possible; and if our measures are likely to be of a protracted nature, I shall not think of waiting the issue.

"Believe me, &c."

TO ———.

"*Permattam Ballam, Bencoolen, Nov.* 23, 1823.

"This is a most melancholy day. One of my last letters informed you of the death of poor Drummond after a few hours' illness; one of the Mr. Days died about the same time. Two days ago Mr. Halhed was carried off;

and I have just received information that my dear and valuable friend Salmond is no more.

"This last blow has been almost too much for us, for Salmond was as dear and intimate with us as our own family. I have just opened his will, and find he has nominated me as his sole executor in the following words:—'I appoint my *only* friend Sir Stamford Raffles to be my executor, and I pray to God he will take charge of my estate and children.' The loss of poor Salmond is quite a death-blow to the settlement. How is it that all we love and esteem, all those whose principles we admire, and in whom we can place confidence, are thus carried off, while the vile and worthless remain?

"Sophia is recovering slowly from her late illness, but she has suffered severely. I am much the same in health, but we are both low in spirits. Would that a ship had come out as I wrote for direct, that we might have been off!

"We have as yet heard nothing of the Fame, nor is there any opportunity besides her likely to offer."

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*Bencoolen, November* 24, 1823.

"You will grieve to hear that we have just lost our worthy, inestimable friend Captain Salmond; he is the second in our family, and the fourth in our small society who has paid the debt of nature within the last month! Would to God we were ourselves fairly out of the place!

Sophia recovers but very slowly from her late dangerous illness, and these events cast a sad and melancholy gloom over everything. I write these few lines at her very particular request, to remind you of my picture. Whether I go home or not, I must, if Lady Raffles survives, send her home by an early opportunity.

"Our united regards and fervent prayers for your health and happiness. Believe me always,

"Yours affectionately."

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*Bencoolen, December* 10, 1823.

"We are, I am sorry to say, in great distress, having lost several friends during the last month, but the worst of all has been the loss of our only remaining child in this country, at a time when Lady Raffles was herself dangerously ill with fever. The shock has been too much for us, and I hardly expect she will get over it. We have indeed been severely afflicted, and what is worse, we are both so ill ourselves that neither of us dare quit the room.

"These circumstances will be a sufficient excuse for not writing you more fully."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, December* 20, 1823.

"You will grieve to hear that we have had another affliction in the loss of our dear babe, whose birth I formerly announced.

"She was carried off very suddenly, and at a moment

when we were least prepared to meet such a shock. The death of poor Salmond and Mr. Drummond, besides several other deaths in the settlement, had cast a gloom over everything, and Sophia was but very slowly recovering from a severe inflammatory fever which nearly proved fatal. The loss of an infant only a few months old is one of those things which in itself perhaps might soon be got over, knowing how uncertain life is at that period, but this loss of our fourth and only remaining child in India has revived all former afflictions, and been almost too much for us. Fortunately Sophia's fever has not returned since the event, and upon the whole she is in better health than she was preceding, but she has not yet left the house; her spirits, as well as my own, are completely broken, and most anxious are we to get away from such a charnel-house, but here we are detained for want of an opportunity. How often do we wish the Fame had come out direct—we might have saved this last misfortune—but we have neither seen nor heard of her, and God only knows when the day of our deliverance will arrive. Either I must go to England or by remaining in India *die*.

"If we are to meet again in this world, it must be soon after the receipt of this—till then farewell, and God grant that you may never be subjected to such misfortunes with your children as we have been. I shall wait a day or two in writing to Cheltenham, in hope of having better spirits than to-day."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, January* 4, 1824.

"We have entered the new year, and as yet no accounts of the Fame. You can hardly imagine to yourself the serious disappointment to all our hopes and plans which this occasions. We begin to think we are doomed to end our days here, and that there is something like a spell upon our movements. After Sophia's severe illness and our last affliction, the delay of a day is most serious, and night and day we cannot help regretting that you have not insured a ship on the strength of my letters to you. I relied exclusively on what you would do, and still have no other hope than that the Fame will be in time to save our lives, though we have very little confidence that this will be the case."

TO ————.

"*Bencoolen, January* 14, 1824.

"I have, before I embark, to wind up all my affairs.

"God grant that we may have a happy and satisfactory meeting in old England, for which I may in truth say my heart yearneth much indeed and sadly.

"We are such poor creatures, that, like the aspen leaf, we shake with every breath of air, and are daily treading on the edge of eternity."

Months having elapsed beyond the time fixed for the arrival of the ship Fame, which was to carry Sir Stamford

and his family to England, without any accounts of her, he determined to take the cargo out of the Borneo, a small vessel which had touched at Bencoolen on her passage to England, and in which he had two years before sent home his infant child; but the very day the arrangement was to have been completed (*fortunately*, it was then supposed) the Fame arrived. The Borneo made a safe and good passage; of the fate of the Fame Sir Stamford's own letters give an account: it is only necessary to add, that the ship was insured, which prevented any loss to the owners—that the captain had no interest in her—that the East India Company had only a few tons of saltpetre on board for ballast—that the loss fell entirely on the individual, whom it pleased God to humble by the overwhelming calamity.

"*Bencoolen, February* 4, 1824.

"We embarked on the 2d instant in the Fame, and sailed at day-light for England with a fair wind, and every prospect of a quick and comfortable passage.

"The ship was everything we could wish; and having closed my charge here much to my satisfaction, it was one of the happiest days of my life. We were, perhaps, too happy; for in the evening came a sad reverse. Sophia had just gone to bed, and I had thrown off half my clothes, when a cry of fire, fire! roused us from our calm content, and in five minutes the whole ship was in flames! I ran to examine whence the flames principally issued, and

found that the fire had its origin immediately under our cabin. Down with the boats. Where is Sophia?—Here. The children?—Here. A rope to the side. Lower Lady Raffles. Give her to me, says one; I'll take her, says the Captain. Throw the gunpowder overboard. It cannot be got at; it is in the magazine close to the fire. Stand clear of the powder. Skuttle the water-casks. Water! water! Where's Sir Stamford? Come into the boat, Nilson! Nilson, come into the boat. Push off, push off. Stand clear of the after part of the ship.

"All this passed much quicker than I can write it; we pushed off, and as we did so, the flames burst out of our cabin-window, and the whole of the after part of the ship was in flames; the masts and sails now taking fire, we moved to a distance sufficient to avoid the immediate explosion; but the flames were now coming out of the main hatchway; and seeing the rest of the crew, with the Captain, still on board, we pulled back to her under the bows, so as to be more distant from the powder. As we approached we perceived that the people on board were getting into another boat on the opposite side. She pushed off; we hailed her: Have you all on board? Yes, all, save one. Who is he?—Johnson, sick in his cot. Can we save him?—No, impossible. The flames were issuing from the hatchway; at this moment the poor fellow, scorched, I imagine, by the flames, roared out most lustily, having run upon the deck. I will go for him, says the Captain. The two boats then came together, and we

took out some of the persons from the Captain's boat, which was overladen; he then pulled under the bowsprit of the ship, and picked the poor fellow up. Are you all safe?—Yes, we have got the man; all lives safe. Thank God? Pull off from the ship. Keep your eye on a star, Sir Stamford. There's one scarcely visible.

"We then hauled close to each other, and found the Captain fortunately had a compass, but we had no light except from the ship. Our distance from Bencoolen we estimated to be about fifty miles in a south-west direction. There being no landing place to the southward of Bencoolen, our only chance was to regain that port. The Captain then undertook to lead, and we to follow, in a N.N.E. course, as well as we could; no chance, no possibility being left, that we could again approach the ship; for she was now one splendid flame, fore and aft, and aloft, her masts and sails in a blaze, and rocking to and fro, threatening to fall in an instant. There goes her mizen mast! Pull away, my boys! There goes the gunpowder! Thank God! thank God!

"You may judge of our situation without further particulars. The alarm was given at about twenty minutes past eight, and in less than ten minutes she was in flames: there was not a soul on board at half-past eight, and in less than ten minutes afterwards she was one grand mass of fire.

"My only apprehension was the want of boats to hold the people, as there was not time to have got out the long-boat, or to make a raft. All we had to rely upon were two

small quarter-boats, which fortunately were lowered without accident; and in these two small open boats, without a drop of water or grain of food, or a rag of covering, except what we happened at the moment to have on our backs, we embarked on the ocean, thankful to God for his mercies! Poor Sophia, having been taken out of her bed, had nothing on but a wrapper, neither shoes nor stockings; the children were just as taken out of bed, whence one had been snatched after the flames had attacked it; in short, there was not time for any one to think of more than two things. Can the ship be saved?—No. Let us save ourselves, then. All else was swallowed up in one grand ruin.

"To make the best of our misfortune, we availed ourselves of the light from the ship to steer a tolerably good course towards the shore. She continued to burn till about midnight, when the saltpetre which she had on board took fire, and sent up one of the most splendid and brilliant flames that ever was seen, illumining the horizon in every direction, to an extent of not less than fifty miles, and casting that kind of blue light over us, which is of all others most horrible. She burnt and continued to flame in this style for about an hour or two, when we lost sight of the object in a cloud of smoke.

"Neither Nilson nor Mr. Bell, our medical friend who had accompanied us, had saved their coats; but the tail of mine, with a pocket-handkerchief, served to keep Sophia's feet warm, and we made breeches for the children with our neckcloths. Rain now came on, but fortunately it was

not of long continuance, and we got dry again. The night became serene and star-light: we were now certain of our course, and the men behaved manfully; they rowed incessantly, and with good heart and spirit, and never did poor mortals look out more for day-light and for land than we did; not that our sufferings or grounds of complaint were any thing to what has befallen others; but from Sophia's delicate health, as well as my own, and the stormy nature of our coast, I felt perfectly convinced we were unable to undergo starvation and exposure to sun and weather many days, and aware of the rapidity of the currents, I feared we might fall to the southward of the port.

"At day-light we recognized the coast and Rat Island, which gave us great spirits; and though we found ourselves much to the southward of the port, we considered ourselves almost at home. Sophia had gone through the night better than could have been expected, and we continued to pull on with all our strength. About eight or nine we saw a ship standing to us from the Roads; they had seen the flames on shore, and sent out vessels to our relief; and here certainly came a minister of Providence in the character of a minister of the Gospel, for the first person I recognized was one of our missionaries. They gave us a bucket of water, and we took the Captain on board as a pilot. The wind, however, was adverse, and we could not reach the shore, and took to the ship, where we got some refreshment and shelter from the sun. By this time Sophia was quite exhausted, fainting continually.

About two o'clock we landed safe and sound, and no words of mine can do justice to the expressions of feeling, sympathy, and kindness with which we were hailed by every one. If any proof had been wanting, that my administration had been satisfactory here, we had it unequivocally from all; there was not a dry eye, and as we drove back to our former home, loud was the cry of 'God be praised.'

"But enough; and I will only add, that we are now greatly recovered, in good spirits, and busy at work getting ready-made clothes for present use. We went to bed at three in the afternoon, and I did not awake till six this morning. Sophia had nearly as sound a sleep, and, with the exception of a bruise or two, and a little pain in the bones from fatigue, we have nothing to complain of.

"The loss I have to regret, beyond all, is my papers and drawings,—all my notes and observations, with memoirs and collections, sufficient for a full and ample history, not only of Sumatra, but of Borneo, and almost every other Island of note in these seas;—my intended account of the establishment of Singapore,—the history of my own administration;—eastern grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies;—and last, not least, a grand map of Sumatra, on which I had been employed since my arrival here, and on which, for the last six months, I had bestowed almost my whole undivided attention. This, however, was not all; — all my collections in natural history,—all my splendid collection of drawings, upwards of *two thousand* in number,—with all the valuable papers and

notes of my friends, Arnold and Jack; and, to conclude, I will merely notice, that there was scarce an unknown animal, bird, beast, or fish, or an interesting plant, which we had not on board: a living tapir, a new species of tiger, splendid pheasants, &c., domesticated for the voyage; we were, in short, in this respect, a perfect Noah's ark.

"All, all has perished; but, thank God, our lives have been spared, and we do not repine.

"Our plan is to get another ship as soon as possible, and, I think, you may still expect us in July. There is a chance of a ship, called the Lady Flora, touching here on her way home, and there is a small ship in the Roads which may be converted into a packet, and take us home, as I have a captain and crew at command.

"Make your minds easy about us, even if we should be later than you expected. No news will be good news."

A striking proof of the attachment of those who had no longer any interested motive to influence them deserves to be recorded. After the boat which contained Sir Stamford and his family got within sight of the shore, the numerous little native craft, which were all in requisition at the moment, approached in every direction with great velocity, and the people put, without exception, this one question: "Is the Tuan Besar (the great man) safe?" Receiving an affirmative answer, they darted off as if there was no other point of interest to them.

In writing to the Court of Directors on this subject, Sir Stamford states:—

"The fire had its origin in the store-room, immediately under the apartments occupied by myself and family, and was occasioned by the shameful carelessness of the steward going with a naked light to draw off brandy from a cask, which took fire; but I am bound to speak in the highest terms of the conduct of the captain, officers, and ship's company, who spared no exertions to save the ship, and when that was found impracticable, to secure the lives of all on board, acting throughout with the utmost coolness and self-possession which such a moment would admit of.

"We had scarcely time to lower two small boats hanging over the quarter, before the whole of the poop was on fire, and the flames had ascended the mizen-rigging. So rapid, indeed, was the progress of the fire, that before even a small canoe could be got out forward, the flames were issuing from the main and fore hatchways, and we were of necessity forced to trust our lives, forty-one in number, to the mercy of the waves, in these two open boats, quitting the ship in such haste, that it was impossible to save a single article, or even to secure a drop of water, or other refreshment. We were fortunate enough, however, to push off from the ship before the magazine exploded, when the fire immediately became general over the whole ship, the masts and sails flaming, and rocking

to and fro, till they fell one by one, affording, in the darkness of the night, and in the midst of the ocean, one of the most truly awful and sublime spectacles that ever was witnessed.

"We estimated that our distance from the shore could not exceed fifty miles, and that by steering towards Sumatra, and in the direction of Bencoolen, we might possibly regain that port, should the weather continue moderate; and accordingly adopted this course, the captain leading in the larger boat of the two. This indeed was the only chance, for if carried to the southward there was no other landing-place on the Island, and we must inevitably have perished at sea by the most horrible of all deaths, there not being a drop of water or other refreshment in either of the boats—not a mast or sail, but imperfect rudders, and most of us without even a complete suit of clothes. My wife had been taken from her bed without shoes or stockings, or other covering but a loose wrapper, and the children under our charge had been literally snatched from their beds when actually in flames.

"It however pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to temper his judgments with mercy, and to allay the storms and currents which so constantly prevail in these seas during the present monsoon; and through the steady and great exertions of the men in the boats, we had the satisfaction to make the land in the morning, within about fifteen miles from Bencoolen. The flames from the ship, which had served to assist us in keeping a direct

course to the land, had likewise been seen on shore, illumining a circumference of not less than fifty miles, and boats had been sent out in every direction to our assistance. By the aid of one of these we reached Bencoolen about four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, after having had to contend with an unfavourable current, and latterly a turbulent sea and adverse wind, for upwards of sixteen hours, every moment of which, under our destitute circumstances and the boisterous nature of this coast, was pregnant with a degree of anxiety and apprehension not to be described. The state both of Lady Raffles and myself, already worn down by illness and affliction to the last stage of existence, was ill calculated to support the privations and exposure to which we were subjected, and long before we reached the harbour she had fallen into a succession of fainting fits, from which we with difficulty recovered her.

"It may however be satisfactory to state, in concluding this melancholy account, that no lives have been lost, and that the whole of the ship's company and passengers have reached this port in safety, thankful to the Almighty for his mercies.

"Submitting, as it is my duty to do, with patient resignation to this awful dispensation of Providence, I make the following statement, not in the spirit of complaint, for I repine not, but simply as illustrative of my personal circumstances and prospects, as they stand affected by this dire and unlooked-for calamity.

"After a service of nearly thirty years, and the exercise of supreme authority as a Governor for nearly twelve years of that period, over the finest and most interesting, but perhaps least known countries in creation, I had, as I vainly thought, closed my Indian life with benefit to my country, and satisfaction to myself; carrying with me such testimonials and information as I trusted would have proved that I had not been an unprofitable servant or a dilatory labourer in this fruitful and extensive vineyard.

"This lovely and highly-interesting portion of the globe had, politically speaking, long sunk into insignificance from the withering effects of that baneful policy with which the Hollanders were permitted to visit these regions, when it fell to my lot to direct the course of the British arms to the Island of Java, and there on the ruins of monopoly, torture, and oppression, in all its shapes, to re-establish man in his native rights and prerogatives, and re-open the channel of an extensive commerce. Political events required our secession from that quarter, but the establishment of Singapore, and the reforms introduced on this coast, have no less afforded opportunities for the application and extension of the same principles.

"In the course of those measures, numerous and weighty responsibilities became necessary; the European world—the Indian world—(the continental part of it at least)—were wholly uninformed of the nature of these countries, their character, and resources. I did not hesi-

tate to take these responsibilities as the occasion required them; and though from imperfect information many of my measures in Java were at first condemned, I had the satisfaction to find them in the end not only approved but applauded, far beyond my humble pretensions, and even by those who at first had been most opposed to me. I need refer to no stronger case than that of the Marquis of Hastings.

"During the last six years of my administration, and since I have ceased to have any concern in the affairs of Java, the situations in which I have been placed, and the responsibilities which I have been compelled to take in support of the interests of my country, and of my employers, have been, if possible, still greater than during my former career: I allude to the struggle which I have felt it my duty to make against Dutch rapacity and power, and to the difficulties that I had to contend with in the establishment of Singapore, and the reforms which have been effected on this coast.

"In addition to the opposition of avowed enemies to British power and Christian principles, I had to contend with deep-rooted prejudices, and the secret machinations of those who dared not to act openly; and standing alone, the envy of some and the fear of many, distant authorities were unable to form a correct estimate of my proceedings. Without local explanation some appeared objectionable, while party spirit and Dutch intrigue have never been wanting to discolour transactions and misrepresent facts.

" It was at the close of such an administration that I embarked with my family on the Fame, carrying with me endless volumes and papers of information on the civil and natural history of nearly every island within the Malayan Archipelago, collected at great expense and labour, under the most favourable circumstances, during a life of constant and active research, and in an especial manner calculated to throw light not only on the commercial and other resources of these islands, but to advance the state of natural knowledge and science, and finally to extend the civilization of mankind.

" These, with all my books, manuscripts, drawings, correspondence, records, and other documents, including tokens of regard from the absent, and memorials from the dead, have been all lost for ever in this dreadful conflagration; and I am left single and unaided, without the help of one voucher to tell my story, and uphold my proceedings, when I appear before your Honourable Court.

" It has always appeared to me that the value of these countries was to be traced rather through the means of their natural history, than in the dark recesses of Dutch diplomacy and intrigue; and I accordingly, at all times, felt disposed to give encouragement to those deserving men who devote themselves to the pursuits of science. Latterly, when political interests seemed to require that I should, for a time, retire from the field, and there was little more to be done for this small settlement, I have

myself devoted a considerable portion of my time to these pursuits, and in forming extensive collections in natural history: my attention had also been directed in a particular manner to the geography of the Island of Sumatra.

"To be brief, I may sum up the collections and papers which I have had the misfortune to lose, under the following heads. They were carefully packed in no less than one hundred and twenty-two cases, independent of those for immediate reference, but which last are also lost, not one scrap of paper having been saved, or one duplicate left:—

"*Of Sumatra.*—A map on a large scale, constructed during a residence of six years, from observations made by myself and persons under my authority, European and native, calculated to exhibit, at one view, the real nature and general resources of the country, on a very different scale to what was formerly supposed; together with statistical reports, tables, memoirs, notices, histories of the Battas, and other original races, native and European vocabularies, dictionaries, and manuscripts in the different languages, contained in several cases.

"*Of Borneo.*—A detailed account of the former history, present state, population, and resources, of that long-neglected island, already drawn out to the extent of upwards of one thousand pages of writing, with numerous notes, sketches, details of the Dayak population, their government, customs, history, usages, &c., with notices of

the different ports, their produce, and commercial resources.

"*Of Celebes.*—Nearly a similar account.

"And of *Java* and the *Moluccas.*—The whole of the voluminous history, as carefully abstracted from the Dutch archives while I was in Java, with careful translations of the most valuable native books, vocabularies, memoirs, and various papers intended principally to assist in a new edition of my History of Java.

"*Of Singapore.*—A detailed account of its establishment; the principles on which it is founded; the policy of our Government in founding it; the history of commerce in the Eastern Islands; its present state and prospects; the rapid rise of Singapore; its history until I gave over charge; with all the original documents connected with the discussion with the Dutch, and every voucher and testimony which could have been required to make good the British claim, and uphold the measures I had adopted.

"In *Natural History* the loss to myself and to science has been still greater. The choicest, the cream and flower of all my collections, I retained to take under my personal charge, together with the manuscripts and papers of my invaluable deceased friends, Drs. Arnold and Jack. Among these also was that invaluable, and I may say, superb collection of drawings in natural history, executed under my immediate eye, and intended, with other interesting subjects of natural history, for the museum of the

Honourable Court. They exceeded in number two thousand; and having been taken from life, and with scientific accuracy, were executed in a style far superior to anything I had seen or heard of in Europe; in short, they were my pride: but as man has no business to be proud, it may be well that they are lost. Cases of plants, minerals, animals, &c. &c., I shall not name.

"Indeed it would be endless for me to attempt even a general description of all that has perished; and I will only add that, besides the above, all the papers connected with my administration of Java, as collected and arranged by my deceased friend and secretary, Mr. Assey, have also been lost, with all my correspondence.

"A loss like this can never be replaced, but I bow to it without repining.

"In a pecuniary point of view, my loss has not been less extensive, as may be perceived by the annexed statement, in which I have assumed the actual cost of the principal articles which have been sacrificed. Most of them are what no money can replace; such as the service of plate presented to me by the inhabitants of Java; the diamonds presented to my family by the captors of Djocjocarta; the diamond ring presented to me by the Princess Charlotte on my embarkation for India, a week before her death. These and many other tokens of regard, friendship, and respect, during an active and varied life, can never be replaced. Money may compensate perhaps for other losses, but no insurance was, or could be, effected from home. It

rests solely and exclusively with the Court to consider in how far my claims, on account of services, may be strengthened by the severity of misfortune which has latterly attached itself to my case.

"The anxiety and fatigue occasioned by the calamitous event which I have detailed have been such, that however much I may feel desirous, from motives of pecuniary necessity, to prolong my stay in India, in the hope of replacing, in part, some of the personal property which I have lost, I dare not look forward to such a measure, and I am under the necessity of taking advantage of the first opportunity that offers of proceeding to Europe, where I shall throw myself on your Honourable Court to enable me to end my days in honourable retirement, trusting to an all-bounteous Providence to restore me and my family to health and peace in my native land.

"In the mean time I have thought it my duty to resume charge of the Company's affairs on this coast, and have advised the Supreme Government accordingly.

"With a former letter I had the honour to submit a copy of the address which was presented to me on the occasion of my departure for Europe, with the reply which I have felt myself called upon to make on so favourable an expression of the public feeling; and it is now with satisfaction that I transmit, for the perusal of your Honourable Court, the address of condolence which was presented to me on my unexpected return under such a sad reverse of fortune.

"In expressing my deepfelt gratitude to the inhabitants of this settlement, for their sympathy in our sufferings, and genuine hospitality, I can only say, that having been thrown back on their shores most unexpectedly,—We were naked, and they clothed us,—hungry and athirst, and they fed us,—weary and exhausted, and they comforted and consoled us; and I pray to God that your Honourable Court, as the immediate guardian of their interests, will bless this land of Sumatra in return, even for their sakes.

"I have the honour to be,

"Honourable Sirs,

"Your devoted, sincere, and faithful servant,

(Signed) "T. S. RAFFLES.

"*Fort Marlborough, February* 8, 1824."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Bencoolen, February* 20, 1824.

"We have just suffered a sad calamity, but as we have been so long inured to misfortune, it perhaps falls more lightly upon us than it would otherwise have done. Time does not admit of my writing a long letter, and, therefore, I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of what I have written at the moment, and in great haste, but which will afford you all particulars.

"I have this day engaged another ship, in which we hope to have better fortune, but she will not be able to sail till the end of next month.

"It was not enough that we should have the dangers of storms, rocks, and seas to contend with; but another element must rise up against us: earth, air, fire, water, all combined to oppose our progress! But I will not despair.

"Pray excuse the brevity of this. In truth, it is with the utmost difficulty I hold the pen."

TO DR. WALLICH.

"*Bencoolen, March* 28, 1824.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"You will have heard of our dreadful misfortune long before this reaches you, and therefore I shall not enter into particulars further than by stating, that I have lost all and everything belonging to me save my wife. We, thank God, escaped by a miracle, and are grateful to Providence for so wonderful a deliverance.

"The whole of my drawings, between two or three thousand; all my collections, descriptions, and papers of every kind; all those of our invaluable friend Jack, with every document and memorandum that I possessed on earth, fell a prey to the all-devouring flame.

"A subsequent attempt to get home in the Wellington has failed in success; for after taking her up, and being prepared to embark, the commander most suddenly and unexpectedly went out of his mind, and is now raving mad.

"This, in fact, was the third ship we had engaged, and

in which something occurred to check our progress. I have now engaged a *fourth*, the Mariner, a small Botany Bay ship, to take home the crew and passengers of the unfortunate ship Fame, and God grant we may be more successful in her. We hope to embark on her in the course of the week, and once more to trust ourselves to the mercy of the elements.

"If it pleases God that we should arrive in England, you will hear from me ere long, and I shall not fail to inform you of all I think likely to interest you.

"Adieu! and excuse haste. All I have time to add is a repetition of what I have often said before, and will continue to say till my dying day: God bless you, and be assured of my devoted friendship and affection.

"Lady Raffles sends thanks for having kept my picture so long, as it otherwise would have been lost, with everything else, by the Fame."

So heavy a misfortune was sufficient to have depressed the spirit and damped the ardour of the strongest mind; but it seemed to have no other effect on that of Sir Stamford than to rouse him to greater exertion. The morning after the loss of all that he had been collecting for so many years, with such unwearied zeal, interest, and labour, he recommenced sketching the map of Sumatra, set all his draughtsmen to work in making new drawings of some of the most interesting specimens in natural history, dispatched a number of people into the forests to collect

more animals, and neither murmur nor lamentation ever escaped his lips; on the contrary, upon the ensuing Sabbath, he publicly returned thanks to Almighty God, for having preserved the lives of all those who had for some time contemplated a death from which there appeared no human probability of escaping. And here the Editor cannot forbear offering her testimony to the admirable conduct of the sailors. When Sir Stamford first got into the boat, and they were requested to move to a little distance, a slight murmur took place at the idea of deserting their comrades, but on being assured that the only object was to choose the easiest death, they one and all yielded in perfect silence, and calmly watched the success of an effort to lower another boat; nor did they afterwards indulge in any complaint, but toiled with the greatest good humour, sometimes laughing at the Purser and the Steward, on whom they laid the blame of the accident; sometimes expressing pity for "*the lady*," and comforting themselves with the idea that *they* were not much worse off than they were before. When the boat approached the shore, they entreated that they might be indulged in the pleasure of landing the party in safety, only requesting first—to have some water; and when a large bucket full was lowered from the side of the vessel which came to meet the boats, the eager rush with which they plunged their heads into it will easily be imagined when it is recollected that they had been working for eighteen hours, without intermission, against a strong current, and in a

tropical climate. Some idea may be formed of the danger which the boats were in, when it is stated that there was no handle to the rudder; and that the only way of stopping the aperture in the bottom of the boat was by one of the men keeping his thumb in it; as he often fell asleep and forgot his office, the water would rush in, and the boat was frequently nearly filled with water and in a sinking state. So crammed was it with people, that none of those who were not engaged in rowing could, during these many hours, move either hand or foot.

Though Sir Stamford's health received a severe shock by this calamity, the following extract from his memorandum book, on his second embarkation, affords another proof that the energy of his mind was not shaken, nor the buoyancy of his spirit broken.

"On the 8th April embarked in the Mariner, and on the morning of the 10th weighed and sailed for England in that ship, in company with the Lady Flora, Captain M'Donnel. She, however, kept to windward and parted from us during the night; a few days afterwards she came in company again, but on the 20th we again lost sight of her.

"20th April.—I this day commenced to apply to study, and devoted the early part of the morning to Euclid, and the remainder to the arrangement of my papers, &c. As far as circumstances admit, I propose to divide my time and application as follows, during the voyage: appro-

priating eight hours in each day to study, reading, or writing, and with an intention of making up one day for any loss of time on another.

"Breakfast being fixed at 9 and dinner at 4,

I appropriate, before breakfast, from 7 to 9 . hours 2

"Between breakfast and dinner, from 10 to 1 and from 9 to 4 . . . . . „ 5

"In the evening, from 8 to 9 . . . . „ 1

hours . . 8

"Before breakfast.—One hour mathematics or logic—one hour Latin, Greek, or Hebrew.

"After breakfast, from 10 to 11.—In committing to paper and arranging and reviewing what I studied before breakfast.

"From 11 to 1.—Writing an account of my administration in the East.

"From 2 to 4.—General reading and reading out to Sophia.

"In the evening for one hour.—Reading a play of Shakspeare's, or other entertaining productions.

"By this arrangement, I have, in the morning, by rising at 6, one hour for exercise before breakfast, and half an hour for the same after breakfast. One hour from 1 to 2 for tiffin and exercise, and after dinner from 5 to 7, two hours for exercise or relaxation in the cool of the evening. As the servants are always behindhand in fur-

nishing the meals, I may freely trust to their affording me time for dressing by such delays, which will only eventually break in on the proposed three hours' relaxation for the evening, a portion of which may well be spared; or half an hour may be added to the day by going to bed at half past 9 or 10, instead of 9 as proposed.

"My object in making this memorandum is, that I may hold the rules as inviolable as I can, and by frequently recurring to it, revive my sleeping energies, should I at any time be inclined to indolence. I should not, however, omit to add, that all reading and study on a Sunday is to be confined to the Bible and religious subjects. The Greek and Hebrew, however, as connected, may nevertheless form a part of the study of that day.

"25th June, 1824.—Arrived at St. Helena on the afternoon of the 25th of June, after a passage of eleven weeks from Bencoolen, and encountering constant and severe gales off the Cape of Good Hope during three weeks of that period. The gale was so severe, that during this period we were unable to leave our cots, the sea poured through the decks into our cabin, and the war of the wind was such that we could not hear each other speak. Lady Raffles, though boarded up in her couch, was obliged to have ropes to hold by to prevent her knocking from one side of it to the other: the ship lay like a wreck upon the ocean at the mercy of the winds and waves, and we resigned ourselves to the feeling that our pilgrimage in this world was soon to close."

Those who have never experienced such a scene can form no idea of the severity of the gale. Captain Young, who had passed the cape nineteen times, declared he had never witnessed anything like it; nor can the Editor ever forget one night, on which Captain Herbert, (for all on board were worn out with fatigue and watching,) as he retired to take a little rest, desired the officer on the watch to observe in one particular direction, and call him the moment he saw the smallest speck in the horizon; the Captain then came to tell Sir Stamford that the ship still held well together. It was a dreadful night, the sky appeared a heavy dense arch, threatening to fall with its own weight, and crush everything beneath it, save in one spot, where a full moon of the deepest blood red shed an unnatural crimson hue that just rendered the darkness visible. It was not long before the expected mark appeared, and before the Captain could get on deck, the fury of the wind was sweeping away all before it.

"Landed the evening of the 25th of June, and the next morning were kindly received by General and Mrs. Walker, with whom we remained at Plantation-house during our stay.

"Sailed from St. Helena the 3d of July, and crossed the Line the 12th of July, 1824.

"There are some souls bright and precious, which, like gold and silver, may be subdued by the fiery trial, and yield to a new mould; but there are others firm and solid

as the diamond, which may be shivered to pieces, yet in every fragment retain their indelible character."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*St. Helena, June* 26, 1824.

"Thank God we are once more on the right side of the Cape of Good Hope, with a fair prospect of a favourable passage home. After being eleven weeks at sea, and suffering a dreadful gale of three *whole* weeks off the Cape, we landed here last night. * * * *

"I have neither time nor spirits to say more than that we are alive and tolerably well, and have a hope to reach England in August. My health and strength are entirely gone, but I trust I have yet enough spirit to bear up for the voyage. To complete our sorrow, I have just received an account of the death of my dear mother, an event for which I had for some time been prepared, but which has been a sad stroke at such a moment, just as I felt the possibility of once more embracing her, and cheering her latter hours: but God's will be done.

"We propose, wind and weather permitting, to land at Plymouth, and from thence to cross the country, through Exeter and Bath to Cheltenham, where Lady Raffles' family are at present residing.

"I mention this, because, next to the duty and inclination I feel to place my dear wife in the bosom of her anxious family, I am led to look towards you and yours.

* * * * *

"Pray excuse this hasty scrawl; my eyes are quite blinded with tears, and my hand is so nervous that I can scarcely hold my pen."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*St. Helena, July* 3, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"After our dreadful misfortune you will, I am sure, be glad to hear that we have at length reached this place in safety, and that with the blessing of Providence we hope to be with you in the course of the next month. My constitution is sadly broken, and the last accident has given both Lady Raffles and myself so severe a shock, that we have with difficulty been able to bear up; but the change of scene within the last few days, and the kind attentions of General and Mrs. Walker, added to the near prospect of home, have again cheered us, and we will yet hope that there may be many happy days in store for us.

"As the account of the loss of the Fame by fire will, no doubt, have reached England before this can arrive, I will not distress you by recurring to the particulars of that dreadful event, by which, though we fortunately escaped with our lives, I have been a sufferer beyond what it is in my power to express. Nearly one-third of the ship was occupied by my collections and packages, and I fondly, but vainly, flattered myself that I should astonish you with the extent of our exertions and research, par-

ticularly in the departments of natural history, to which my attention had latterly been so much directed. Our friends, Sir Everard Home and Dr. Horsfield, will have to regret the loss of many interesting subjects, as I had endeavoured to comply with all their wishes, and succeeded beyond my expectations. You too, my dear Sir, will suffer no less; for without vanity I may say, that I had collected a body of information regarding Sumatra, that would have been highly interesting to you. I had completed a general map of the whole island, with more detailed particulars of the principal divisions, extensive vocabularies, &c., and I regret to say, that I had not taken the precaution of leaving duplicates behind: of most it would have been difficult to have done it. It is, however, of no use to repine. I have set to work again upon the map, but I fear it will very imperfectly supply the place of the one I intended for you."

TO ————.

"*Plymouth, Sunday, August* 22, 1824.

"Here we are, thank God, safe and sound! We made the land on the 20th, and landed here this morning, I am happy to say, in better health than could have been expected. Yours of the 20th has just been put into my hands, so that you will perceive I have neither lost my punctuality nor my activity. I have a sad head-ache from the fatigue of landing, and therefore you must excuse my saying more to-day; but as we

shall reach Exeter to-morrow, I will write more fully from thence.

" Mr. Rosdew is with us, and we shall sleep at Beechwood to-night. Sophia will speak for herself, and Nilson is well. My hand is so cramped that I cannot hold my pen."

CHAPTER XX.

Sir Stamford lands at Plymouth—Interview with his child—Resumes his labours—Interrupted by ill health—Views of the civilization and conversion of the heathen—Retrospect of the proceedings of the Bible Society in Sumatra—Malay schools preparing the way for the Scriptures—Translation of St. John's Gospel—Effect of the transfer of the island to the Dutch—Access to China—Singapore institution—Sir Stamford's life at home—The magistracy—Sudden illness—Purchase of Highwood—Judgment of the Court of Directors on his administration of Java, Sumatra, and Singapore—His death.

Sir Stamford Raffles landed at Plymouth with health and strength greatly reduced, and after remaining one night with Mr. Rosdew, at Beechwood, in whose house he had last enjoyed the pleasures of social intercourse previous to his departure seven years before, he hurried on to Cheltenham. The following letters describe his feelings at this period:—

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Cheltenham, August* 24, 1824.

"Once more we are safe at home, and I trust it will not be long before I have it in my power to overcome the short distance which separates us.

* * * * *

"We are safe, but, I am sorry to say, far from sound; for my constitution is terribly shattered: nevertheless, I live in confidence that, as the spirit is good, the body will yet mend. How happy shall I be to see you once more!

* * * * *

"Your letter must have arrived at Plymouth the day after I left it. We were most anxious, as you may well suppose, to throw ourselves into the arms of our family as soon as possible, and did not remain at Plymouth above three hours; but what with assizes, horse-races, air-balloons, and other festivities of the season, we got on so slowly for the first two days, that I was obliged to push the post-boys from Bath to this place at about thirteen miles in the hour, until our front wheel caught fire, in order to satisfy Sophia's impatience to see her child. This has rather fatigued us; but you will, I am sure, be happy to hear that we have found her all that our fondest wishes could have desired.

"I am unfortunately so troubled with cramp, that I can scarcely hold my pen; therefore, pray excuse my writing all that my heart and feelings dictate.

"How pleasant it is to be near one's friends; for what are a hundred miles after fourteen thousand!

"Of my future plans in life I cannot say that I have fixed any. * * * I confess that I have a great desire to turn farmer, and have the vanity to think I could manage about two hundred acres as well as my neighbours. With this, I suppose, I should in time be-

come a country magistrate, an office of all others which I should delight in; and if I could eventually get a seat in parliament, without sacrificing principle, I should be content to pass through the rest of my life without aiming at any thing further, beyond the occupation of my spare time in promoting, as far as my humble means and talents admitted, the pursuits of knowledge and science, and the advancement of philanthropic and religious principles.

"Your Grace will, perhaps, say that I have chalked out for myself a very varied and diversified course; but what is life without variety? and what is existence without occupation?"

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Cheltenham, October* 9, 1824.

"Your advice is so good, so friendly, and so kind, that I will at once pledge myself to follow it in everything. My only wish is not to be idle, but to be useful to the extent of my means.

* * * * *

"I have been engaged for the last two or three days in drawing out a brief review of my public administration during the last twelve years. After the loss of all my documents and records, a paper of this kind becomes the more interesting. I hope I shall not be found to have said too much in favour of my own services and pretensions; and yet the countries in which I have been placed have been so new, untrodden, and interesting, and the

situations in which I have been thrown have been so peculiar and trying, that unless I state them myself, few will either know or understand anything about them. I feel confident that my course has been so straightforward, that the more light may be thrown upon it, the more obvious it will appear, and the more creditable it will be to my character."

TO MR. MARSDEN.

"*Cheltenham, October 22nd*, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have been so unwell since I had the pleasure to receive your kind letter, that I have been quite unable to answer it till now; not that I have, on the whole, cause to complain as to the general improvement of my health since my arrival, which, I am happy to say, has been greater than I expected; but I am still occasionally subject to severe attacks in the head, and have been confined for days together to my bed, from this and a severe cold, which for the time incapacitated me from writing. I am, however, on my legs again; and you will, I am sure, be happy to hear that both Lady Raffles and myself already feel some confidence that we may weather the winter, and look forward to next summer for the full re-establishment of our health. Our dear little one we have found every thing the fondest parents could desire; and I would hope we have at length come to the termination of the long series of misfortunes, with which it has pleased an all-wise Pro-

vidence to afflict us of late, and that there is still much comfort and happiness in store for us."

* * * * *

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Cheltenham, October* 23*rd*, 1824.

"Your Grace will have been surprised at my long silence; I have been ill and confined to my bed almost ever since I received your last letter, and I am only able to-day to refer to the date, and apologize for not acknowledging it. When Lord Seymour was with us, I had entirely lost my voice from a violent cold; so that we had some difficulty in communicating; but he had hardly left us, than I had one of those severe attacks in my head that nearly deprived me of reason; and I began to think I must bid you a long farewell. Thank God, however, I am better; though I am hardly able to hold my pen, and which I dare not trust except within very close limitation: for I believe it was in consequence of using it too much on the paper that I was drawing up that I have to attribute this unfortunate relapse; which has thrown me back in point of health at least two months; and as winter is fast approaching time is precious.

"I have finished the paper I was writing some time ago, and it is now at the printer's—it is not exactly what I could have wished, and the state of my health obliged me to contract it within very narrow limits, and bring it to a conclusion rather suddenly, and with less spirit than I

could have wished. Such as it is, you shall have it in a few days."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Cheltenham, November 2nd,* 1824.

"I have corrected the proof of the paper which I am sending in to the Court of Directors, and have desired a copy to be sent to you. I am afraid you will not find it very interesting; but as it takes a general view of my services and the situations in which I have been placed, it may amuse you for half an hour during a dull November day. You must bear in mind *to whom* it is addressed, and the necessity of my keeping within bounds; as well as with reference to a body so constituted, as on account of my own health, which does not admit of my enlarging on the subject. You will see that I have pledged myself to give the public a memoir on Singapore. I hope you will not disapprove of my taking so much blame to myself as I have been willing to do. I am ready to justify every act of my administration, and feel perfectly easy on that score, but it is for others to judge—not me; and all I am anxious to do is to get the question agitated, as I am ready to stand or fall by the result.

"I am very sensible of the Duke's kindness, and am only sorry that I give you so much trouble and so little satisfaction. Time was when I wanted not strength to second my will; but I am now, alas! shattered, and altogether unequal to one-thousandth part of all I would wish or desire to do.

"Promising, with God's help, to be a better correspondent during the next than I have been during the last week,

"I am, &c. &c.,

"T. S. R.

"I have put the maps of Sumatra and Singapore into the hands of an artist this morning, to be constructed and engraved on a scale to suit a *quarto volume*."

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

"*Piccadilly, December 9th*, 1824.

"I have been following your kind advice—idling and playing the fool with my time as much as possible.

"We are beginning to get a little more to rights than when you left us, but I have only been able to unpack two cases out of one hundred and seventy-three in course of transport to the house."

As soon as Sir Stamford was settled in London, he commenced an examination, as intimated in the last letter, into the wreck of the immense collections which he had had made during the twenty years he had passed in India. He also designed to arrange his papers; and whilst India, with all its varied interests, was fresh in his memory, to record whatever he thought would promote the general improvement of mankind, or the particular advantage of his country; but his health was so delicate, that he was

prevented from applying himself as he wished to the objects and pursuits which he had most at heart; the least exertion of mind or body was followed by days of pain and sickness, and he was continually regretting how much he was losing time—how little he was doing for the good of others.

The following letter is to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Sir Stamford always conceived that the idea of converting the natives of India by preaching only was fallacious, and that the miraculous outpouring of the Holy Spirit which attended the first preaching of the Gospel, and which by its numerous converts were so multiplied, was not now to be looked for. It was his conviction that the best means of securing this object was to civilize and instruct the people, and, together with civilization and instruction, convey to them the blessed truths of the Gospel, trusting that God in his own good time would bestow upon them that faith in a Redeemer, without which all knowledge is vain, and which alone is for the "healing of nations."

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

"*February*, 1825.

"In compliance with the desire expressed by the Committee, I now have the honour to report generally on the state of the Sumatran Auxiliary Bible Society at the period of my quitting Bencoolen, and to offer such sug-

gestions as occur to me, with a view to the continuance of its operations under the political changes in that part of the East.

"Detailed reports of the proceedings of this Society from its commencement until January, 1824, were intrusted to me for the Parent Society in England; but, unfortunately, the whole of these were lost by the destruction by fire of the ship Fame, on which I had embarked for England; and, during the confusion attending my second embarkation from Bencoolen, I am sorry to find that I was by no means furnished with a complete series to supply their place; nevertheless, I will endeavour to convey to the Committee an outline, as far as I bear them in recollection, which I hope will be sufficient to prove that it has not been without its usefulness; and that if, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the place, much may not have been done in the actual distribution of the Scriptures, the way had been paved to a considerable extent; and that time alone was wanting to ripen into effect the operations of those who had entered on the undertaking.

"I cannot charge my memory with the exact number of Bibles distributed by means of the Auxiliary Society; I believe it was inconsiderable with reference to the extent of population; but when it is considered that previous to its establishment few, if any, could read, or had any idea of the existence of such a book, or that Christians had such a boon to confer upon them, this will not be surprising.

"At an early period of the Society, my attention was directed more especially to the necessity of introducing letters, and, with them, moral and industrious habits were gradually attended to. The rapid progress made by the children in the different public schools, afforded an earnest that perseverance alone, for a few years, was necessary to effect a complete change in the condition of the people, and to place within their comprehension the leading truths of the sacred volume.

"Although the progress and success of these schools may not be considered as falling directly within the immediate objects of the Bible Society, yet, as without them we never could have expected that the Bible could have been read, I may perhaps be permitted to annex to this memorandum the last report of our School Committee, which shows that in the immediate vicinity of Bencoolen, the number of boys who had been taught to read, and who had been disciplined in regular habits, amounted to some hundreds; and that in the dependent districts along the coast of Sumatra, among a population of not less than 60,000 souls, a considerable anxiety prevailed for the extension of the system.

"I may add in truth that I never witnessed a more animating and interesting spectacle than the public examination of the children of Bencoolen. It was one in which all classes of people united to express their admiration and surprise; and the fair promise which the children afforded was the most satisfactory earnest of their future

advancement in civilization and happiness, if good seed were sown, and the tiller were not idle.

"Order and industry were more generally introduced among the adults than in former times; and I have reason to believe that, throughout, the beneficial changes effected were considered as springing directly from the pure motives of a Christian Government, whose principles the people could not but revere.

"Thus far, in connexion with, and under the auspices of, the Bible Society, has the way been prepared for the reception of the sacred volume on the west coast of Sumatra. In other parts perhaps little has been done, owing to the want of means. The Island itself probably contains a population of not less than three millions; and these are for the most part under independent and worse than semi-barbarous Chiefs.

"One of the most interesting and promising establishments, however, formed in furtherance of these objects, was at Tappanooly, in the heart of the Batta country; where Mr. Burton, a Baptist Missionary, has been successfully established under the protection of the British Government. This gentleman has already made himself, in a great measure, master of the Batta language; and after translating several tracts into it, was engaged, at the period of my leaving Sumatra, in a plan with the Missionaries at Bencoolen, for translating the Gospel of St. John. Mr. Burton has since that period penetrated, in company with Mr. Ward, into the interior of the Batta

country; the particulars of their discoveries in this part of Sumatra will, I doubt not, soon meet the public eye. In the mean time it may be satisfactory to state that they found the population more extensive, and the productions more valuable than they expected; and that, instead of finding obstacles and difficulties thrown in their way, they were universally treated with kindness and hospitality. They entered the country without disguise, as Englishmen and Missionaries, and were treated with respect.

"But if, on one hand, the friends of the Society at Bencoolen were anxious to open the eyes and ears of the ignorant to a knowledge of the Word of God, they were no less active in endeavouring to prepare the sacred word in such a form as might most readily and most correctly meet their conception.

"Superior knowledge of the languages into which it was to be translated became indispensable; and without entering into the difficulties which stood in the way in this respect, I will merely take the liberty of adverting to the state of the question as concerns the Malay Bible, and which was, I believe, the first specimen of a translation into any of the Eastern languages. The Rev. Mr. Robinson, whose exertions in promoting the great objects of the Society, and in cultivating the waste and barren soil of the native mind with indefatigable industry, entitle him to the highest praise, has, among other publications for the use of the schools, recently edited a work on Malay orthography; in the preface to which he has introduced some

observations on this translation, which may deserve the attention of the Committee; and I am in consequence induced to annex the volume; and at the same time to refer to the note at the end of the 36th page of the Introduction.

"I take this opportunity of forwarding a few copies of the Gospel of St. John, as rendered into Malay by Mr. Robinson; on the merits of which it would be desirable that a decision should be formed as early as circumstances admit. The only step, with this view, taken on the spot was, to submit it to a Committee of two of the senior civil servants on the Bencoolen establishment, and who were considered to be the best versed in the Malay language; who gave their opinion generally in favour of the translation, and more particularly in support of the orthography adopted by Mr. Robinson.—I do not feel myself prepared at the present moment to offer any decided advice on the subject; but as there is every reason to hope that the Institution, recently established at Singapore, may prosper and become efficient, I should think this a point which might be well considered and adjudged by the collective knowledge which will be assembled within its walls.

"I now turn to the probable state of the Auxiliary Society at Bencoolen, as it will be affected by the transfer of that settlement to the Dutch, and from the British withdrawing from the whole of Sumatra on the 1st of March last, conformably to the treaty.

"When the last accounts left Bencoolen, the official

advice of the intended transfer had not reached that settlement; but sufficient intimation of the probability of such an event had been received to throw the whole country into a state of the greatest confusion and alarm.

"The following is an extract from one of the latest letters, which may serve in some degree to convey an idea of the apprehension.

"'What the effect this change may be upon our mission it is impossible fully to conjecture;—but there seems just cause to fear that it will be attended with some present evil. The Bible Society, which was to have supported our translation, will exist no more; and the liberal sum which we have hitherto enjoyed for the support of the native schools will also be withdrawn.'

"I introduce this extract to show, that, on the spot, little hope is entertained that, after the British flag is lowered, there will be any chance of the society at Bencoolen holding up its head; and to submit whether, considering that the British Government has agreed to withdraw itself *in toto* from all future concern in the administration of Sumatra, and has left that Island to the exclusive control of the Netherlands' Government, it might not be advisable to concert with the Bible Society of the Netherlands, to receive its special control and care.

"I should be loth to recommend the abandonment of any interest by the British and Foreign Bible Society, however distant the hope of success, and more particularly of one, with the rise of which I had the satisfaction to take

some pains, and with which I was in a great measure personally connected; but when I reflect on the local discussions and difficulties which may arise among contending authorities, jealous even of each other's name, I feel that I am taking a higher and a safer ground, when I look rather to the Netherlands' authority, and to the zeal of their Bible Society, for carrying into effect the plan which we have begun in Sumatra.

"If the Committee should view the question in the same light, I would suggest the advantage of an early and candid communication being made to the Netherlands' authorities, and that it should be clearly understood, whether the four missionaries (Baptists) now in Sumatra will be permitted to remain, and to continue their labours on the same principle as heretofore, on an assurance of protection on the part of the Dutch Government; or if not, whether any and what countenance will be given to them under the change of circumstances which has taken place; or otherwise, whether the Netherlands' Society itself will undertake the whole duty, and they may withdraw.

"It would be highly advisable that such an understanding should be effected as would effectually prevent the possibility of clashing on the spot. The Government at home as well as the Parent Societies, are actuated but by one common and social cause, and will mutually aid each other; but the same spirit is not always predominant abroad; and at all events we ought to do everything in our power in Europe to prevent the possibility of misunderstanding them.

"On the restoration of Java to the Dutch, the Auxiliary Bible Society established there by the English was allowed to decline and go into decay; and it was not until an offer was made to Mr. Bruchnor, at Samarang, to print a version of the Javanese Bible at Bencoolen under his revision, that the Dutch Government came forward and assisted in the prosecution of the work; in which I am happy to say he is now successfully employed.

"In the Moluccas, the Netherlands' Government have afforded considerable countenance and assistance; and it is to be hoped that the subject will be taken up in the Netherlands with the same liberality and spirit. The religion of Christ will then not long be prevented from exercising its improving and resuscitating influence over this long-neglected portion of the globe.

"At the same time that I feel myself bound to offer an apology for the length of this communication, I am induced to make one observation more, for which I crave your indulgence.

"In the last Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, notice was taken of the labours of Dr. Morrison, and particularly of the advantage that might arise in appointing an agent to proceed to Singapore, and from thence to China and different parts of the East, with the view of distributing the Scriptures in China. I take this occasion to offer my entire concurrence and unreserved testimony in support of the suggestion of Dr. Morrison; and to state that, situated as we are now on

the threshold of China, and surrounded by perhaps half a million of that people, who have emigrated and settled around us in the adjacent countries, with almost constant intercourse, and means of communication even with the heart of China itself, Loochoo, and Japan, I consider this the most favourable opportunity that could be embraced for furthering the objects of the Society in that quarter. I ought also to add, that Siam and Cochin China are now, for the first time, open to our commerce; and that, whatever may be the result of the present contest in the Birman country, a field seems to be opening in that quarter, from which we shall no longer be debarred entrance. India beyond the Ganges, or Eastern Asia, at no former period of its history seems to have been pregnant with greater changes than at present; and, though all good and great works must be the work of time, yet I trust I may stand excused in suggesting whether the time has not arrived, when a knowledge of the languages and character of the people ought to be cultivated, in order that we may have agents prepared to act whenever safe openings offer. Instead of one or two persons learned in the Chinese, should we not at least have a dozen? Siam and Cochin China are extremely populous; and I am not aware that any Protestant missionary has ever been among them; or that any version of the Scriptures in their languages has been attempted.

"With the view of affording to the Committee every information as to the present state of Eastern Asia, I

have taken the liberty to transmit herewith a memorandum of the Institution at Singapore; an institution which in its degree will, I trust, be found essentially conducive to the civilization and advancement of the countries by which it is surrounded."

Sir Stamford had not been many months in England when he suggested a plan to Sir Humphrey Davy for the formation of a Zoological Society, which should combine with the pursuit of science the introduction and domestication of such quadrupeds, birds, and fishes, as might be most likely to prove useful to agricultural and domestic purposes.

The following letters allude to this subject.

TO SIR R. H. INGLIS, BART.

"*April* 28, 1825.

"My dear Sir Robert,

"As Sir Humphrey has gone out of town, leaving with me the list of names in support of the plan for extending our zoological researches, &c., to add the names of as many of my friends as might be desirous of promoting it, I am induced to ask if I may have the honour of putting down your name.

"Mr. Peel's name is at the head of the list, and those of Lord Spencer, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Stanley, Mr. Heber, and many others of weight follow.

"When the list is completed to a hundred, which I

conclude it will be in a day or two, it is proposed to appoint a committee, when the objects of the society will be more clearly defined. In the first instance, we look mainly to the country gentlemen for support, in point of numbers; but the character of the institution must of course depend on the proportion of men of science and sound principles which it contains. I look more to the scientific part of it, and propose, if it is established on a respectable footing, to transfer to it the collections in natural history which I have brought home with me.

"Yours sincerely,

"T. S. RAFFLES."

TO THE SAME.

"*Grosvenor-street, June* 16, 1825.

"MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,

"I have duly registered Sir Thomas Acland's name on the list of subscribers to the proposed society, which I am now happy to find is to be honoured and benefited by his support.

"A meeting is proposed to be held next week, when some kind of form or constitution will be given to it: at present it is almost 'without a local habitation or a name.'

"In the mean time I enclose you the last prospectus, with a list of the names as they stood a week ago, since which there have been several accessions.

"The state of my health has been such, that I have found it impossible to call at Manchester-buildings, not-

withstanding many attempts, and I am now forced to fly from town rather suddenly. We go as far as Hornsey on Saturday, and expect early in the next month to remove to High Wood, which I have purchased; at present, however, we have some difficulty about the period of possession, on account of delay in making out the title; and, as the case stands, I have been obliged to say, that unless I can remove at an early date, our agreement must fall to the ground. "Yours, &c.

"T. S. RAFFLES."

To Sir Stamford the enjoyments of a country life were peculiarly delightful, indeed almost necessary; and when he found himself once more at liberty to cultivate his garden, to attend to his farm, and to interest himself in those simple pleasures in which he had always delighted, he hoped to regain that health and strength which alone were wanting to his happiness. Here he could indulge the feelings of his heart without restraint; and it was his intention, had not God ordained better things for him, to have passed the greater part of his time in the happy retirement which the spot he selected for his residence promised to secure to him.

TO SIR R. H. INGLIS, BART.

"*High Wood, December* 31, 1825.

"MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,

"The application I am about to make to you will be the best proof I can give that I am recover-

ing my health, and feel some confidence in my future exertions.

"My neighbours here have urged me strongly to act as a magistrate, and the necessity of such an authority is unquestionable. We are more than four miles removed from our parish church, and the exercise of anything like police; and the consequences are as might be expected: the poorer classes, left to themselves without control in this world, and neither checked by moral nor any other authority, are in a sad degraded and irregular state. We are just on the borders of another county, not famous for the moral character of its inhabitants, in the vicinity of Barnet and Whetstone, which is a further reason for my undertaking the office.

"We are now concerting a plan for the erection of a Chapel of Ease; and the next object is an efficient magistracy. For some time I resisted the entreaties of my friends that I should endeavour to get into the commission, not feeling my health equal to the duties, and apprehensive that, although during the longest part of my public life, I have been acting on the principle, and directing others how to execute similar offices, I might myself be deficient in the details; but from the improvement in my health, and from a desire to be useful to the extent of my ability, added to the consideration that it may afford me the means of becoming *practically* acquainted with the real state of our society, and of much regarding our laws and usages which it is impossible for

me to know otherwise than theoretically, I no longer hesitate.

* * * * *

"I have, in a great measure, recovered my health, by being quietly in the country, and avoiding public or large parties, and the benefit of a pure air; but we propose going into town in the course of a few months.

"Yours, &c.

"T. S. RAFFLES."

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"23, *Lower Grosvenor Street, March* 9, 1825.

"MY DEAR COUSIN,

"I have been intending to write to you for the last three weeks, and particularly in answer to your reference to Sophia respecting the Singapore Institution; but I have been far from well, and not able to communicate with Dr. Morrison and other friends so fully as I could have wished.

"It is now determined that he does not return to China this season; and he has for the present established himself at Hackney, where he lectures twice a week, and affords instruction in the Chinese language. His object is to introduce the study of it into this country; and a plan is in progress for appointing a professor in Oxford.

"I am decidedly of opinion, that the interests of the Institution will be better forwarded by considering it as a whole; it being of course optional with subscribers to

give their assistance either generally, or to either of the three departments—Literary, Chinese, or Malay. Dr. Morrison looks principally to the Chinese, but he by no means wishes to throw the other departments into the background; and I believe he is fully convinced that we must uphold the literary and scientific department, as most essential for the well-being of the whole. * * I propose after Easter to take it up, and will then write you more fully.

"It will I think be advisable to move in the first instance in London, where I propose appointing a committee. Dr. Morrison does not appear sanguine about public meetings, and seems to think we can do more by committees.

* * * * *

"My health has improved, but I am still delicate and unsound; so much so, that I am unable to bear the fatigue of going into the city, or attending to anything like business. I look forward with no little anxiety to May and June, when we may hope to quit London and ruralize.

"I am much interested at present in establishing a grand Zoological collection in the metropolis, with a Society for the introduction of living animals, bearing the same relation to Zoology as a science, that the Horticultural Society does to Botany. The prospectus is drawn out, and when a few copies are printed I will send some to you. We hope to have two thousand subscribers at

2*l.* each; and it is further expected we may go far beyond the Jardin des Plantes at Paris. Sir Humphrey Davy and myself are the projectors; and while he looks more to the practical and immediate utility to the country gentlemen, my attention is more directed to the scientific department. More of this, however, hereafter.

* * * * *

"T. S. RAFFLES."

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*Lower Grosvenor Street, May* 18, 1826.

"MY DEAR COUSIN,

"You are kind, indeed, to be thinking of me and my prospects, at a time when I fear I shall have given you too much reason for accusing me of neglect. My conscience has for many a day told me that I ought to have written to you more than I have done; and the only way in which I have been able to satisfy it, has been by reflecting on your kindness and consideration to make allowance for all my sins of omission;—which in the way of correspondence have latterly accumulated most frightfully. I feel in the light of an unfortunate debtor, with but little prospect of ever discharging my arrears.

"My health, thank God, is upon the whole improved;—and I am happy to say both Sophia and my little one are quite well. Necessity has compelled me to go much into society; and I am almost surprised, that, at this gay season of festivity, I have been able to carry on the war. Seldom a day passes without an engagement for dinner,

and for many weeks I have not been able to command an hour's leisure. It is true I have not attended very closely to anything, but all is so new, varied, and important in the metropolis of this great empire, after so long an absence in the woods and wilds of the East, that like the bee, I wander from flower to flower, and drink in delicious nutriment from the numerous intellectual and moral sources which surround me.

* * * * *

"The few copies of the Zoological plan which were struck off were soon dispersed; and I did not think of sending some to you until I found I had not *one* left for myself. Some idea has been entertained of throwing the prospectus into a new form; and at this very time I am a little at issue with Sir Humphrey Davy, as to the share which science is to have in the project. As soon as I have a copy of the plan resolved upon, I will send it to you; and in the mean time I shall take the liberty, save permission, of placing your name with the *honourables* who support it.

"Do you know of any layman who would go to Singapore and China as an Agent to the Bible Society;—or who would devote himself to the cultivation of the Chinese language? He would have a salary of 100*l.* per annum, and all expenses for travelling, &c. paid. I am looking out for such a person, at the suggestion of the Bible Society; and considering the great opening, and the extent of the field, surely there must be sufficient interest

in the country to rouse some one into action. I think it likely that you will see some notice on the subject in the next monthly extracts published by the Society.

* * * * *

"T. S. RAFFLES."

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*Lower Grosvenor-street, May* 24, 1826.

"MY DEAR COUSIN,

"Thank God I can return a tolerably satisfactory answer to your kind enquiry, by saying, that though still rather weak and nervous, I am again getting about. My attack was sudden and unexpected, but fortunately was not apoplectic as was at first feared. I was inanimate for about an hour; but, on being bled, got better, and I have had no return.

"It has reminded me, however, that I have been quite long enough in London, and its dissipations and excitements; and we are now making arrangements for retreating as soon as we can. Nothing has yet been determined respecting the property at Hendon; but we are still in treaty, the difference being about a thousand pounds.

* * * * *

"I am afraid of writing much, as my head is not quite what it should be.

"Yours most affectionately,

"T. S. RAFFLES."

Sir Stamford alludes to an illness in the foregoing

letter; he had been to call on his friend Mr. Murdoch; and after leaving his house was suddenly seized with a fainting-fit, and brought home by a surgeon who happened to be passing at the time. The hope that it was not an attack of apoplexy was, alas! fallacious; but how often are the warnings of God rendered of no avail by the reluctance of man to apply them! In this instance those near and dear to him refused to listen, because to have done so would have been to yield up every hope of earthly happiness.

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*Lower Grosvenor-street, June* 6, 1826.

"My dear Cousin,

"I sent you by the coach of Saturday a few of the copies of the Prospectus of the Zoological Society. It is a subject on which much has been said, and more might be written; but it has been thought best, in the present state of the speculation, to confine the notice to a few words. The names are coming in fast; and I shall be happy to receive a list of any of your friends at Liverpool, who may be desirous of becoming subscribers. The amount of the sum will not ruin them, neither will they find themselves in bad company: and no pecuniary call will be made until the plan is advanced, and we can show them something for their money.

"It is proposed to have a general meeting of the subscribers who may be in town, in the course of the present

month, in order to appoint a Committee, and proceed to business.

"We expect to have at least 500 members to begin with, and that Government will provide us with ground, &c.

"I am happy to say that I continue tolerably well; although the last serious attack, in reminding me of my mortality, has thrown me back considerably both in strength and spirits; so much so, that I am obliged to forego society in a great measure, and to come to the resolution of quitting London almost immediately. We have fixed on the 15th to move to Hornsey, for a week or two, whence we shall remove to our new dwelling at High Wood. This place I have just purchased, and we are to have possession at Midsummer. It is in the parish of Hendon, and on the borders of Hertfordshire, but in Middlesex, eleven miles from London, and three from Barnet, so that we shall be at least ten miles nearer to you than we are in London. The house is small, but compact, and the grounds well laid out for appearance and economy. The land, 112 acres, in grass; and, as I have taken the growing crops, I must begin hay-making while the sun shines. There is a very good farming establishment on a small scale; and I am now rejoiced that I can offer you and Mrs. Raffles and the children comfortable beds and accommodation whenever you can pass a few weeks with us. I anticipate, with the blessing of God, great advantage from the change of air and occupation. We have now been nearly eight months in London,

and most heartily am I tired of it; indeed, I do not think I could stand a month longer at the rate we have been obliged to live, without quiet or retirement for a day.

* * * * *

"The last attack has so shaken my confidence and nerves, that I have hardly spirit at the present moment to enter upon public life; and prudence dictates the necessity of my keeping as quiet as I can, until I completely re-establish my health. A few months in the country, and on the farm, may set me up again.

* * * * *

"Sophia unites in kindest love to Mrs. Raffles and yourself,

"And I remain,

"Yours, most affectionately,

"T. S. RAFFLES.

"I am not sure that I mentioned in my former letter that my attention was directed to High Wood, in the first instance, by our respected friend, Mr. Wilberforce, who has purchased the estate adjoining, so that we are to be next door neighbours, and to divide the hill between us.

"I am happy to say that his health is improving.—Do you not almost envy us such a neighbour?"

It will be seen from the notices in this and some of the preceding letters, that Sir Stamford had at this time the gratification of carrying into execution in London his

favourite plan of an establishment similar to the Jardin des Plantes at Paris. His own taste led him, as he has stated himself, to consider the scientific department as the one of the greatest interest and advantage to his country.

The Zoological Society now possesses that portion of the collections which he made during his last government, and sent home previously to his return from Sumatra.

TO THE REV. DR. RAFFLES.

"*High Wood, Middlesex, June 15th*, 1826.

"MY DEAR COUSIN,

"I have just received your welcome letter of the 12th, and should send this immediate acknowledgment to Liverpool, if it did not appear that I should best insure its delivery, and meet your arrangements, by forwarding it to Highbury Place.

"We are here, thank God, once more out of the trammels and disorders of a London life. We came down last week, and are looking forward to the hope of remaining some time. We have nearly dismantled the house in Grosvenor-street, so that I fear you would find but poor accommodations there: *here* we cannot have you too much with us; and from the nature of the house you can best judge the accommodation we can afford.

"We have the same dread of the measles that you appear to have. Neither of the children have had them; and, as they have had a sad *bout*, and are only just recovering from the hooping-cough, which I caught from them, we cannot be too particular.

"As to my engagements for the next three weeks, I know but of one or two likely to interfere with any arrangement which we can make for being together, as much as possible, while you are in the vicinity of London.

"We are daily waiting a summons from Lady Harcourt to go to St. Leonard's, where we have promised to take the children for a week. We are also under the necessity of going into Essex after the Midsummer holidays, to put Charles to school, and spend a few days with Mr. Sotheby, the poet, and our friend Mr. Hamilton: with these exceptions the coast is clear.

"You do not say the time that Mrs. Raffles proposes being in town: but I hope you will arrange for her coming to us when she does arrive: and that, at all events, we may be able to make a comfortable family circle, previous to your trip to Hamburgh.

"Let me have a line from you when you reach Highbury, should you not stop by the way at Barnet, and first look in upon us. I generally go into town once a week, and we must lose no time in meeting.

"I have had a great deal to annoy me since I saw you last; but it is a worldly affair, and I trust will not materially affect our happiness.

"Sophia is quite well, and desires her kindest love.

"Yours affectionately,

"T. S. RAFFLES."

"We suffer a little from the heat; but, as we hope to make our hay in the course of next week, I don't complain; High Wood is now in its best dress, and will, I am sure, please you.

"My neighbour, Mr. Wilberforce, takes possession to-morrow, and will previously spend the day with us."

This is the last letter from which the Editor can present any extract, and her duty now approaches to its close.

Through the whole course of the narrative it will have been obvious, that from the first period of public action, preceding and during the expedition to Java, Sir Stamford's course of duty forced him to act on his own responsibility; that, in very few instances, were his superiors pleased to view in the same light the interests of the charge entrusted to his management; that in the absence of instructions solicited, and of replies to his frequent references, he was impelled onwards by the course of events; that in the administration of the Government of that Island, and in his subsequent Government of Bencoolen, and the important establishment of Singapore, unfortunately, when his superiors did interfere, it was in general only to raise objections, and to suggest a different course of measures, when, by their own delays, the time was past in which their views could have been adopted. This may be supposed to have arisen more from their ignorance of the subjects on which they

thought it necessary to decide, than from any intention of being unjust or harsh towards the individual whose merits and services many of them, no doubt, justly appreciated. Among the Directors of the East India Company, Sir Stamford had the happiness to possess the friendship of Sir Hugh Inglis, Mr. Grant, Mr. Edmondstone, Mr. Money, and Mr. Edward Parry, to every one of whom individually, he would have referred with the greatest confidence for an opinion on any and every point of his public life.

The second period of his services in the East, his government in Sumatra, placed him in a predicament equally trying; every act which tended to benefit his country generally, and to promote the interests of the people more immediately subject to his authority, interfered in the same degree with the principles of monopoly on which the East India Company have founded their policy.

It was the opinion of Sir Stamford, that during the infancy of our intercourse with India, the union of merchant and legislator might exist without injury to the general interests of the country; but that it was a short-sighted policy which induced the reluctance to share with competitors those benefits formerly enjoyed by the Company alone; and that, as it is impossible for the Company to compete with the private trader, it would be for their honour and advantage to withdraw from this field. By being known as Legislators and Governors only, by encouraging general trade, and removing all obstacles to

general intercourse, they would in reality increase their revenue, and secure the support of the public.

Sir Stamford, as a servant of the Company, was bound indeed to promote their peculiar and corporate interests, but he looked beyond the mere question of the profits of a retail trade; and he felt that no Government could prosper unless it went hand in hand with the improvement of the people. That the Company have not reaped the results of his labours cannot be imputed to him.

It remains only to state the judgment of his superiors upon his general measures. On the 12th of April, 1826, the Court of Directors gave their opinion of the services of Sir Stamford under the three heads of Java, Sumatra, and Singapore.

Of JAVA—the Court admit, that the success of the expedition to Java was promoted by the plans and information of Sir Stamford Raffles.

That the representation of Sir Stamford Raffles as to the financial embarrassment of Java on the outset of his government is correct.

That those financial difficulties were enhanced by the inevitable hostilities* with Palembang and Djojocarta.

That of the measures introduced by Sir Stamford Raffles for the removal of the financial embarrassments; viz. the sale of lands, withdrawal of Dutch paper currency, and a new system of land revenue:—

* *Measures approved by the Bengal Government.*

The sale of lands * is considered to have been a questionable proceeding.

The entire series of measures for the reform of the currency are conceded to have been well adapted to their object.

With regard to the system of revenue introduced by him, the Court state that they would have been inclined to augur favourably of the success of his measures, and consider it highly probable that the colony would have soon been brought at least to liquidate its own expenses by the lenient and equitable administration of Sir Stamford Raffles' system.

The regulations for reform in the judicial department and police, the Court consider entitled, both in their principles and in their details, to a considerable degree of praise.

On the measures respecting *Borneo, Banca,* and *Japan,* the Court remark that, under a permanent tenure of Java, and a different system of policy, the measures in question (promoting intercourse and enlarging the British power) would have been valuable service.

SUMATRA.—The measures of internal reform introduced by Sir Stamford Raffles are generally approved.

In his political measures he incurred the strong disapprobation of the Court; but the motives by which he

* *Pronounced by the Governor-General to have been an* ABLE EXPEDIENT *in a moment of* GREAT EMERGENCY.

was actuated were unquestionably those of zealous solicitude for the British interests in the Eastern Seas, and form a part of a series of measures which have terminated in the establishment of Singapore.

SINGAPORE.—It is allowed that Sir Stamford Raffles developed the exclusive views of the Dutch, and the measures ultimately carried into effect are to be attributed to his instrumentality; and to him the country is chiefly indebted for the advantages which the settlement of Singapore has secured to it. The Court consider this to be a very strong point in Sir Stamford Raffles' favour, and are willing to give him to the full extent the benefit of their testimony respecting it.

His administration of Singapore has been approved by the Bengal Government.

The Court's opinion with regard to the general services of Sir Stamford Raffles is summed up in the following terms:—

"The Government of Sir Stamford Raffles appears with sufficient evidence to have conciliated the good feelings of, at least, the great majority of the European and Native population; his exertions for the interests of literature and science are highly honourable to him, and have been attended with distinguished success; and although his precipitate and unauthorised emancipation of the Company's slaves, and his formation of a settlement at Pulo Nias, chiefly with a view to the suppression of a slave-traffic, are justly censured by the Court, his motives

APPENDIX.

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, IN BATAVIA, ON THE TWENTY-FOURTH DAY OF APRIL, 1813, BEING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE INSTITUTION,

BY THE HON. THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, President.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Although I have naturally withheld my signature from the address to Lord Minto, which now lies on the table, in consequence of the very pointed manner in which the framer of that address has noticed the protection and encouragement which I have personally afforded to the Society, I shall have much pleasure in forwarding it, and in personally, soliciting his Lordship to take the Society under his immediate patronage. I am satisfied that he will entertain a due sense of the consideration which you have shown to his exalted talents, and I flatter myself that we may confidently count on his promoting the views and objects of the Institution to the utmost extent.

"Elected as your President, by the unanimous voice of the Society, and earnestly solicited by the most conspicuous of your Members to accept that station, I have not felt

myself competent to decline so marked a distinction; but I must assure you that I feel very sensibly my entire inability to execute its important duties, either with benefit to you or credit to myself. Far more preferable would it have been to me had this honourable post devolved upon one of your more competent members, and that you had permitted me to have mixed with you as one of your ordinary, though not least zealous associates.

"On the present occasion, however, assembled as we are, in commemoration of the anniversary of the Institution of the Batavian Society, with such fair prospects before us of promoting the original design of its establishment, under the anticipated protection of so illustrious a Patron, I cannot refrain from taking a general though imperfect review, of the progress of the Society, from its first institution, nor from indulging in the contemplation of the lights, which the future exertions of its active and zealous members may throw on man and nature in these remote regions.

"In common with other human institutions, the Batavian Society has been subject to many changes and vicissitudes; but it is to the calamitous effects of a war which has desolated the finest countries in Europe, and which extended its baneful influence to this distant Isle, that we are principally to attribute its decline. Cut off from all communication with the mother-country, and distracted by internal jealousies and disputes, science drooped, and this Society, which at one time maintained so distinguished a character, almost ceased to be known.

"The Batavian Society has, I believe, the honour of being the first institution of a literary nature established by Europeans in the East. Previous to its establishment, Mr. Radermacher, a gentleman of distinguished talents, and a zealous promoter of the Christian religion, and of

science, with a few friends at Batavia, conceived the idea of assembling together a number of persons of consideration and ability, with the view of encouraging the arts and sciences in this capital and the other Indian establishments then dependent on Holland. They considered that in India, as in Europe, where for two centuries the reformation in letters preceded that in religion, a taste for the arts and sciences must be introduced previously to the general adoption of the Christian religion in the East; but they were aware of the difficulties to be encountered, under the circumstances in which the colonies of Holland were then placed, and a considerable period elapsed before the design was carried into effect.

"At length, in the year 1777, when Mr. Radermacher and his father-in-law, the Governor-General De Klerk, were newly elected directors of the Society of Haerlem, a programma appeared, which contained the plan of extending the branches of that Society to the Indies. The distance and extent of the Dutch colonial possessions in the East did not, however, admit of this plan being realized, but the idea being thus brought forward to public notice, a separate Society was, by the unremitting perseverance of Mr. Radermacher, who may be called the founder of the Institution, established at Batavia.

"On the 24th of April, 1778, this Society was duly established, under the authority of government, and after the example of Haerlem, took for its motto, *The Public Utility*. On its first organization the Society consisted of 192 members, the Governor-General being Chief Director, and the members of the High Regency Directors. The ordinary members were elected from among the most distinguished inhabitants of Batavia, and the possessions of the Company; and it was enacted, that as many as were present should annually hold a general

assembly, in order to judge and decide upon the answers received to the different questions proposed, to propose new questions, and to make general regulations. In addition to this general direction, a committee was nominated, consisting of eight members, with a president and secretary, who were charged with the daily occurrences, and with authority to decide upon and carry into effect whatever might not admit of delay, reporting their proceedings at the ensuing general assembly.

"The Society selected as objects of research and inquiry whatever could be useful to agriculture, commerce, and the welfare of the colony; it encouraged every question relating to natural history, antiquities, and the manners and usages of the native inhabitants, but expressly avoided entering upon any subject which might relate to the East India Company; and in order the better to define the objects and contribute to their accomplishment, a programma was from time to time printed and circulated abroad.

"These programmas contain many important questions, as well general as particular, relating to agriculture, commerce, the means of removing the insalubrity of Batavia, the diseases of the climate generally, and other points which clearly mark the objects of the Society. Among these, the following question may deserve notice:—

"'*By what means of finesse do the Preachers and Missionaries of the Moslem faith succeed, even at the present day, in converting Pagans to the faith of the Koran, and in establishing them in this faith?*'

"Although it might seem that this question might either have been answered generally by stating '*that the Mahomedans at the present day owe their success principally to their more intimate assimilation with those to be converted;* or, perhaps, eventually by '*a philosophical and political*

view of the first establishment of the Mahomedan Religion on the islands and coasts of the seas lying east of the Straits of Malacca and Sunda;' it does not appear to have been replied to in any of the subsequent volumes.

"The view which I have just mentioned seems to fall particularly within the province of the Society, and to be highly deserving its attention; it is a part of history which seems hitherto to have been too little investigated, and a tract on the subject, while it discussed the question alluded to, would naturally introduce other important subjects.

"The Society was no sooner fully established, and its proceedings generally known, than it received from all quarters various acquisitions to its cabinet and library. Mr. Radermacher himself presented the Society with a convenient house, and with eight cases of valuable books, a collection of animals, fossils, minerals, musical instruments of the Javanese, and of the different coins current in the East; and in the same year, by the liberality of Mr. Bartto, the Society was enabled to form a Botanical Establishment in a garden presented by that gentleman.

"In 1779 the Society undertook to print the first volume of its Transactions; the second appeared in 1780, and the third in 1781, but from the want of types and other unfortunate circumstances, a programma only appeared in 1782. In 1786 the fourth volume was, however, given to the public, but printed in Holland, by the commissaries of the Society, under the special privilege of the States General.

"After this period the Society observing that the questions proposed remained unanswered, set to work themselves, and published the fifth volume in 1790. In this and the sixth volume, which appeared in 1792, the essays are written exclusively by the members.

"In 1794 the first two essays, intended for the seventh volume, were printed; but no subsequent publication of the Transactions of the Society appears to have taken place.

"Subsequent to this period, when the revolutions in Europe, the war and other circumstances of the times, continued to interfere with the prosperity of the Society, it was suggested by some of the members, that by adopting a more limited plan for its proceedings, the objects which the Society had in view might still be obtained; and accordingly a resolution appears to have been taken to this effect, to which the approval of the High Regency was obtained, in May, 1800.

"Under this new organization of the Society, the 'Public Utility' was still the declared object of the Institution; but the publication of questions, except at the particular suggestion of any member, was discontinued. The Society still continued to consist of men of ability and talent. The direction of the Society was placed in the hands of a Directory of nine persons, including the secretary, who were chosen from among the members, each taking precedence in his turn for one month. Corresponding members were elected at the principal settlements and out-stations, and the general annual assemblies were abolished. In the hands of this Directory the Society appears to have deposited everything; and considering the distracted state of the country, such a conduct may perhaps have been essential for maintaining its existence during the convulsed period which ensued.

"Notwithstanding the exertions of the Directory to complete the seventh volume, it was found impracticable; and the only acquisitions which it appears to have obtained during the period in which the affairs of the Society were exclusively under its management, are the communi-

cations of Dr. Thomas Horsfield. This gentleman was proposed to the High Regency, and authorised to prosecute his botanical researches under the sanction of government. After several excursions in different parts of the island, he established himself at Souracarta, with the view of forming a *Flora Javana*, forwarding to the Society from time to time reports of his progress, dried plants, and useful descriptions and accounts of discoveries made by him in natural history.

"Such was the state of the Society at the change of government, in 1811, when the dark perspective was illumined, and the talents and ambition of the Society again shone forth from the obscurity in which political circumstances had involved it.

"Without noticing particularly the various essays which adorn the pages of the six volumes of the Transactions already published, I shall briefly observe, that as far as my limited knowledge of the language enables me to judge, they contain much useful and interesting information, particularly on economical subjects materially connected with the interests of science and literature.

"In the first volume will be found an interesting description of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, and the Transactions are replete with various valuable tracts on agriculture, commerce, political economy, and natural history, by Messrs. Radermacher, Van Hogendorp, Hooyman, Van Iperen, Baron Van Wurmb, Couperus, Van der Steege, Titsing, Tessiere, Van Boeckholtz, and others.

"Having thus taken a retrospective view of the Society, from its first institution until the period when it was new-modelled under the regulations of last year, I shall proceed briefly to notice the contents of the volume, which is now sent to the press, and to communicate such sug-

gestions as occur to me with regard to our future proceedings.

"In various branches of natural history, Doctor Horsfield is eminently conspicuous, and the papers which will now come before the public from his pen, are highly interesting to science. On the antiquities and native history of the island, some light is thrown by Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, Surveyor-General on the Madras Establishment, in his interesting tract on the Ruins of Prambana, forming the capital of one of the early dynasties of this island; and on the Island of Borneo some interesting data are furnished, on which to found our further inquiries in that immense island, from the pen of the late Dr. Leyden. The circumstances under which this paper was written are stated in a note annexed to the paper itself.

"Had our late valuable secretary, Dr. Hunter, been spared but a few months, the present volume would not have made its appearance without containing some highly interesting essay from him. His death is deeply deplored by us all, as must for ever be the unexpected and untimely fate of my departed friend Dr. Leyden, who, although not actually initiated as a member of this Society, came from the other India panting after knowledge, and busy in the pursuit of science. Had Providence ordained that he should have remained a few months on this island in the exercise of the wonderful powers of his ever active mind, I am convinced, that from his extraordinary acquirements in all the languages of the East, his deep erudition, and his zeal in the cause, he would have found it no difficult task to have traced the connection which formerly subsisted between the Eastern Islands and Western India, from a comparison of their languages and dialects only. His views were the most

extended and comprehensive that a philosophic mind can conceive. Ardent in the pursuit of knowledge in every direction, and rising with difficulties, his uncommon mind and rare talents must naturally have overcome every obstacle.

" A more convincing proof cannot perhaps be offered of the views which he contemplated in setting his foot in this capital of the Eastern Islands, than in the sketch of Borneo, which I have just noticed. This was prepared by him on his passage from Malacca to Batavia during the progress of the expedition. It stands uncorrected by his masterly hand, but even in its present state will, I have no doubt, be found to merit a place in your publications.

" Irreparable as the loss of these inestimable promoters of our design and ornaments of our age must be, and deep as our regret may be felt, we are not to despair of what may hereafter be done; but rather, from the loss we have sustained, put our shoulders more firmly to the wheel and exert ourselves more than under other more fortunate circumstances would have been necessary.

" The first point which it appears to me essential to notice with regard to our future proceedings, is the necessity of encouraging and attaining a more general knowledge of the Javanese language. Hitherto the communication with the inhabitants of the country has been chiefly through illiterate interpreters, or when direct, through the medium of a barbarous dialect of Malays, confounded and confused by the introduction of Portuguese and Dutch. Without a thorough knowledge of this language, it is impossible to form any accurate idea of the modes of thinking or acting among the people of this country. Much valuable information may be expected to be found in their books, and when they are

more generally known, an attempt may be made to develop the early history of the island, which, with the exception of some leading facts, remains, anterior to the introduction of Mahomedanism, involved in obscurity and fable.

"I have already in my possession three detailed histories of the island, stated to be taken from their own written accounts; but as they have passed through one, and in some cases two, intermediate languages, and the persons intrusted with the first translation not perhaps understanding the subject, I cannot depend upon them.

"Vocabularies have already been collected of the different dialects of the Javanese, and also of the principal languages of the Eastern Seas; and from the unremitting and indefatigable exertions of Colonel Mackenzie, whose researches into the history and antiquities of Western India so eminently qualify him for similar pursuits in this quarter, we are justified in the expectation that many of the doubtful points regarding the early connection of Java and the Eastern Islands with the continent of India will be cleared up.

"The collections of Colonel Mackenzie, who has personally visited almost every part of the island, prove the zeal with which he has taken up the subject; and on his return to India, where an opportunity may be afforded of decyphering several inscriptions found in different parts of Java, of which he has taken *fac similes*, we are promised that his exertions will not be relaxed in endeavouring to illustrate whatever may be important.

"The opportunity afforded of increasing our stock of Javanese Manuscripts has not been lost; and if the Government should be enabled to prosecute a plan, which is in contemplation, for forming an establishment for the acquisition of the language, we may hope that transla-

tions of the most important will soon find a place on the shelves of our library.

" Dr. Horsfield still continues his pursuits in natural history, with unabated zeal; and although he has been for a time removed from the immediate field of Java, he is prosecuting, in a neighbouring island, pursuits of a similar nature. The Island of Banca, which has lately fallen into the possession of our Government, had never been explored by Europeans. Dr. Horsfield has undertaken the task, and, from his talents, ability, and industry, the most sanguine expectations may be realized.

" Mr. Muntinghe also, whose enlarged views and extraordinary endowments so peculiarly qualify him to direct you in the paths of science and literature, will not be wanting in contributing his share to the general purposes of the Society. He has already collected many highly interesting tracts on the Native Laws and Institutions, as they are traced to have existed antecedent to the introduction of the Mahomedan faith; and when his information is more mature, and his collections more complete, we are justified in the expectation, that he will devote to the Society some portion of that extensive stock of literary acquirement and sound judgment for which he stands so eminently conspicuous.

" To the learned Professor Ross, the Society is already highly indebted; and while we cannot but consider our thanks as peculiarly due to this gentleman for his exertions in preserving the existence of the Society during a period of peculiar delicacy and difficulty, I am satisfied that we may look to him and the other Dutch members for the most essential aid in future. To particularize many of these members would perhaps be invidious to the whole, but if I may be allowed to introduce the names of Engelhard, Couperus, and Van Naersen, and to calculate

on the advantages which must be derived from the investigations and communications of these gentlemen, I am sure there are few among us who will not readily admit their claim to pre-eminence and distinction.

" Without entering on the various subjects which offer themselves for inquiry on Java, and which, not to intrude on your time at present, may be more advantageously introduced in a list of desiderata, I shall confine myself to a few observations on the present state of the countries in its vicinity which seem most to demand attention.

" The members of the Society must have been forcibly struck with the rapid progress made by the Asiatic Society in Calcutta; an institution of recent date, compared with that established at Batavia; and however much the decline of the latter may be attributed to the political circumstances already stated, I am inclined to think, that its decay may in some degree have been accelerated by the nature of its constitution. A very essential change has lately been effected, and the regulations of the Batavian Society have been new modelled, nearly on the same principle as those of the Asiatic Society in Bengal. Although, therefore, we may not at the present moment boast of so many eminent literary characters as are to be found among the members of that Society, it is but fair to flatter ourselves with the expectation, that under the fortunate change of circumstances which has taken place, with regard to this island, and the new organization of the Society, our exertions may tend considerably to a better knowledge of this part of the world, and the general advancement of literature and science.

" The objects of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta are so fully explained in the discourses of Sir William Jones, that it is unnecessary to enter into any explanation of them here. The researches of that Society are not

confined immediately to Western India; they extend throughout the whole regions of Asia. The whole circle of the sciences, and the wide field of Asia, are alike open to your observation, but it occurs to me, that the interests and object of the Institution will be more advantageously promoted by its exertions being directed to what falls more immediately within your reach.

"It is to what has been emphatically termed the "FURTHER EAST" that I would direct your more immediate attention; and here, if I am not mistaken, an ample field is afforded. The history of Sumatra, by Mr. Marsden, has thrown so clear a light on the country and character of the inhabitants, that I have but to refer you to that valuable work for all that is yet known respecting that interesting Island. Much, however, still remains to be done, even in this quarter, and our recent connection with Palembang, and the Southern Provinces of the Island, promises to afford every facility to our inquiries. Of Banca, we shall no doubt possess the most accurate and interesting information, on the return of Dr. Horsfield, and as our recent establishment in that quarter forms a new centre, from which our inquiries may diverge, the various countries in its vicinity will no doubt be early explored.

"Of the chain of Islands lying East of Java, and with it denominated generally the Sunda Islands, I shall only notice particularly that of Bali. This Island lies so close to Java that it is surprising so little is known of it. All accounts agree, that vestiges of the Hindu or B'hudist religion, perhaps of both, are still to be found. Some accounts go so far as to state, that in the interior of the country, the inhabitants are divided into four tribes, termed Bramana, Sudra, Wazier, and Sutra; and it is certain, that on the final establishment of the Mahomedan

religion in Java, the Hindus or B'hudists, who remained unconverted, took refuge in that Island. I will not venture further on this unknown ground, feeling satified that another year will not be allowed to pass by without personal observation on the spot by some inquisitive inquirer.

"We have hitherto only adverted to the countries lying in the more immediate vicinity of Java, but in extending the prospect, and directing our views eastward to the other islands of the Archipelago, our attention is forcibly attracted by the great Island of Borneo, hitherto a blank on the chart of the world. From the best information we have yet been able to obtain of this immense Island, greater in extent than any civilized nation of Europe, and abundantly rich in the most valuable natural productions, it would appear that the whole country was, at no very remote period, divided under the three empires of Borneo, Sucadana, and Banjer Masin, of which the reigning princes of the two latter trace their descent from Mah'japahit in Java.

"Borneo or B'rni, now termed by us Borneo Proper, having been the first port visited by Europeans, may have given rise to the name of Borneo being erroneously applied to the whole Island, which by the native inhabitants, and universally by the Eastern States, is termed Pulu K'lemantan. Its princes deduce their origin from the Sultans of Johore, but such is the wretched state to which their country has fallen, that they possess little more than nominal authority, except on the immediate spot of their residence.

"Sucadana, though the most conspicuous in latter times, is now reduced to little more than a name. To the rise of Sambas, Pontiana, and other petty states on its numerous rivers, originating in grants and usurpations

of various portions of the empire, the destruction of the seat of government by the Dutch, and the general imbecility and want of enterprise on the part of the reigning princes, may be attributed the state into which the present possessor of the title has latterly fallen. He resides entirely at Matan, an inconsiderable place far up an adjacent river. This prince still possesses the large diamond which has been for eight generations in his family, but retains little other valuable appendage or consideration to support either his rank or authority.

"Banjer Masin, although not much indebted to the interference of the Dutch in promoting its internal improvement, still owes much of its remaining respectability as a State, to the protection afforded by the presence of the European authority. Deprived, however, latterly of that support, convulsed by the consequences of the measures which closed the period of Dutch influence, and exposed to the inroads of piratical enterprise, it was rapidly falling into decay, and in a short period its princes would perhaps have had little more to boast than those of Sucadana, had not the fostering care of the European power been again extended by the encouragement given to the wishes and expectations of the reigning prince, whose conduct affords, amongst many others, a convincing proof how much the interests, welfare, and even existence of the native states depend on the ability and character of the reigning prince*.

"A more intimate acquaintance with Banjer Masin than with the other parts of the Island enables us to speak more decidedly with regard to the progress of

* The Factory of Banjer Masin was withdrawn, and the connexion abandoned by the Dutch, early in 1809, the Sultan purchasing, for the sum of 50,000 rix dollars, the forts and buildings, on his being declared independent

civilization in the interior of the country, and the general state of the Southern Provinces. Something has already been written on the northern part, and the settlements formerly maintained by the English have thrown some light on the character of the country and habits of the population in that quarter; the interference which has been found requisite, for the immediate suppression of piracy in the states formerly appertaining to Sucadana, will also afford the means by which much interesting information will be obtained from thence.

"Banjer Masin, in common with Java, still retains some vestiges of Hindu antiquity, and among others it may not be uninteresting to notice the circumstance of the Sultan being in possession of a golden tortoise with several rings, on which are engraved the figures of Ishwara and other Hindu deities, and impressions of the cow and elephant*.

* The manner in which the golden tortoise was discovered is thus related:—"In the reign of the former Sultan, a native of Banjer Masin, when at sea in company with a *Kling*, or native of the coast of Coromandel, ascertained from conversation that the latter, who was a Hindu, had a secret object in proceeding to Banger Masin, and at length discovered that object to be the recovery of property belonging to his ancestors, which appeared to lie buried in the earth at a place called Mirampiaù. Stimulated by the expectation of gain, he dissuaded the Hindu from immediately prosecuting his object, and bent his own course directly to the spot, where, after digging to a considerable depth, he discovered several compartments inclosed by walls, in one of which he found the tortoise, with a pot of gold-dust on the back." Intelligence being immediately carried to the Sultan, his further researches were prevented, in consequence of the spot being seized as a droit of royalty; after which no further investigation appears to have taken place. The cow is said to be never seen among the emblems of Hindu or Vedantic Mythology; but the Ox frequently. The elephant is introduced merely as an ornament, except when repeated in certain stories with other figures of the drama. The elephant exhibited on the seal-ring may have some allusion to the *Calinga* or *Telinga* state, the chief of which was denominated the

" Of the population of the Island, all that we are yet justified in saying is, that the Moslems appear to have established themselves in authority over the aborigines, who are generally termed Orang Dayak, in those parts of the country adjacent to settlements which they have formed on the banks of the many rivers with which the Island is watered. These extend some distance inland, but the Mahomedan influence has not spread far into the interior. Indeed, the mass of the population, which may have submitted to the Moslem Chiefs, still remains unconverted to the Mahomedan faith, and in the interior their habits are so barbarous as to prevent all intercourse, even with the Mahomedans most in their vicinity. Those subjected to the Mahomedans appear to be mostly tractable and of mild disposition, but so wretchedly sunk in barbarous stupidity as to submit to every indignity without resistance, while those who still retain their independence, and who are to be considered as the bulk of the original population, form innumerable ferocious tribes, constantly at variance with each other, and individually rejecting internal government and control.

" It may be a question whether the present state of society, among the unsubdued inhabitants, is to be attributed to any marked distinction between them and those who have submitted to the Mahomedan rule, or whether the barbarity, which now disgraces human nature, may not be traced in a great measure to the conduct observed to those who have submitted to a foreign influence. Be

Gaja Putty, or *Lord of Elephants*. In like manner as the Chief or King of the *Carnatic* was denominated *Nara Patty*, or *Lord of Men*, but the seal of *Carnatic* was a *wild-hog*. Pillars and remains of buildings, evidently traces of a more enlightened population at a remote period, have been noticed a considerable way up the river; but until that part of the country is visited by Europeans, it would be premature to offer any observation on their origin and design.

this as it may, it is a lamentable fact not to be disputed, that at the present day, almost within sight of Java, the sacrifice of human beings at ceremonies and festivals is so common, that enterprises are undertaken divested of every other object but the attainment of human beings for such occasions.

"Where such practices are prevalent, it is not to be expected that a country can boast extensive population; indeed, under such circumstances, it may rather be matter of surprise that Borneo should be so populous as it is. Happily there is no state of human nature so debased as not to afford a field for improvement, and although the horrid custom alluded to would seem to check any sanguine hope of a rapid change being effected, there are some traits to be found, even in these savages, which afford an opening for intercourse and consequent improvement. They are not without industry, and when met by candour and kind treatment, are rather disposed than otherwise to a trading intercourse. From mild and judicious management much may be expected.

"From what has been said of the present state of Borneo, it follows, that we are not to calculate on any immediate addition to our stock of useful arts; but as every untrodden path affords some new incitement to the inquisitive mind, we may look for much in the various branches of natural history;—to the philosophic mind a wide and interesting field is opened, and while we contemplate, in a political point of view, the advantages which must result from bringing forth, and directing in a proper course, the latent energies and resources of so large a portion of the habitable globe, it must be a pleasing reflection to the philanthropist, that so many of our fellow-creatures are thus gradually retrieved from ignorance, barbarism, and self-destruction.

"Proceeding east, our progress is arrested by the Celebes, an island as remarkable for its peculiar shape, as for the martial and commercial enterprise of a great portion of its inhabitants. Of this island, however, we yet know but little that is to be depended upon, except of the south-west limb, and the immediate neighbourhood of the north-east point.

"Among the records of the Dutch government a very interesting map of the south-western limb has been found; and from the minuteness and ability with which it appears to be executed, it promises to throw much light on the general nature of the country; and will, at all events, facilitate a more accurate survey whenever circumstances may admit of such an undertaking.

"The most prominent nations in this part of Celebes are the Bugis and Macasar or Mengasar, but hitherto we have only discovered one written character, distinct from every other in the Eastern Islands. The Mahomedan religion prevails generally throughout this part of the island, but in the northern provinces, beyond Mandhar, and generally in every interior part of the island, human nature appears nearly in the same rude state as we have described it in the interior of Borneo.

"The people are, however, known under the general denomination of Alfur or Arafura, which term is extended to the same description of inhabitants in the islands farther east; these last do not appear to differ essentially from the Orang Dayak of Borneo, and may with them be considered as the aborigines of these islands. The Celebes, from its peculiar figure, seems admirably adapted for the purposes of commercial intercourse; and although but a very small portion seems yet to have advanced to any degree of civilization, they are renowned among other eastern nations for the spirit of commerce and war. They

have established various colonies on the opposite coast of Borneo, and on the shores of the adjacent islands, and even maintain an influence of no inconsiderable weight in the politics of the Malayan States west as far as the Straits of Malacca. The Bugis and Macasar nations, like the Javanese, are nations perfectly distinct from the Malays; but we are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the native history, to assert how far they are entitled to be considered as the indigenous inhabitants of the country.

"We know pretty accurately the date of the introduction of the Mahomedan faith, and some leading circumstances relating to the conversion of the people; but from the advanced state of their civilization compared with that of the Arafuras, it must be inferred, that, at the period of its introduction, they had attained a considerable degree of improvement beyond the bulk of the population; and, indeed, we are borne out by tradition and history in the belief that, in this part of the island, there existed a powerful nation, long antecedent to the introduction of Mahomedanism. We are not, however, prepared to say from what foreign quarter this portion of the native population was first civilized, and we are not yet informed whether, as in Java, any traces are to be found of Hinduism. On these points, and in short on every essential point, we have much to learn; and the field is so important and interesting, that I flatter myself the period is not far distant when the pages of our transactions may throw much light on the subject. We have already, as I before noticed, obtained through the assistance of Captain Phillips, the Resident, very extensive vocabularies of the language, and the inquiries which have been set on foot by that gentleman, at the suggestion of the Society, promise the most interesting results.

"Farther East lies the Island of Jelolo or Halamahira,

which is situated between the Moluccas and the Papua Islands, as Celebes itself is situated between the Moluccas and Borneo. Jelolo has sometimes, from its form, been denominated Little Celebes. With the western coast of this Island we are less acquainted, but the inhabitants of the eastern coasts, especially those of Asa and Maba, are, from their connexion on the Moluccas, well known. These, however, would appear to occupy so small a portion of the country compared with the Alfurs, that we can hardly be said to be yet fully acquainted with the bulk of the inhabitants.

"On this island, therefore, and the group of smaller islands in its neighbourhood, including the Moluccas, the first object appears to be that of ascertaining correctly what is already known; and after reducing the same to such a form as may furnish a basis, or at least determined points, from which to proceed on further inquiry and investigation, to persevere steadily in the attainment of what is deficient. Our information on the natural history of the Moluccas is perhaps more complete than that of any region of the East, and it is not among the least distinguished records of our Society, that we find a manuscript copy of an original work of the celebrated Rumphius.

"I fear I have already detained you too long in thus particularising the present state of these Islands, considering that however interesting and important they may be, as lying contiguous to the seat of our deliberations, they embrace but a small portion of the extensive tract which lays open to the Society, even within the range that I am desirous of defining. To enter upon the whole, otherwise than generally, would be foreign to the object of the present discourse, and I am far from being competent to undertake the task; but while I hastily pass over New Guinea and New Holland, with the numerous islands of

the Southern Seas, reserving the observations which occur on these for a future occasion, I cannot refrain from noticing the rapid progress of the European settlements in the more Southern parts of New Holland, and anticipating the practicability of obtaining, in concert with men of research in that quarter, early and interesting information on many important points which still remain doubtful.

"Much has been said and collected by Mr. Dalrymple on the Sulu Islands, and on the large Island of Mindanawi or Majindanau, but it must be confessed that very little light is yet thrown on the history of man in those regions —the mine is still unexplored, and from the notice in the writings of the Signor Margarette and others on Luconia and the Philippine Islands, much may still be expected in aid of what has already been suggested.

"From the intimate political connexion now open with the Spanish possessions in both hemispheres, the period is, I trust, not far distant, when an intercourse between our Society and similar institutions existing at Manilla, may bring to light much interesting information. Under existing circumstances, it will naturally occur, that no time should be lost in opening correspondence, and in encouraging the most unreserved and cordial communication.

"Had I not already trespassed too long on your time, I should have been inclined to indulge at some length on the prospect which the projected enterprise to Japan affords in aid of our researches in that quarter. From the distinguished talents of Dr. Ainslie, the English Secretary to the Society, who proceeds as commissioner on the part of the English government, we have just grounds for anticipating the acquisition of much that is to be learnt from these remote and interesting countries.

"I must, however, now apologise for the very uncon-

nected and diffuse manner in which I have taken the liberty to address you. The occasion required that I should say something, and I have already stated how inadequate I felt myself to say anything to the purpose. I cannot, however, conclude without offering to you my congratulations on the revival of the Institution under its present promising circumstances, nor without noticing the liberal manner in which you have undertaken the publication of a 'New Edition of the Sacred Scriptures in the Malayan character.' Allow me to assure you that I am individually deeply interested in the success of the Institution, and that, while it may be in my power, from my official situation, or otherwise, to encourage and protect your laudable pursuits and undertakings, you may calculate on the most unreserved and liberal support of government."

"A DISCOURSE DELIVERED ON THE 11th SEPTEMBER, 1815, BY THE HONOURABLE THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, PRESIDENT.

"GENTLEMEN,

"A series of domestic afflictions, alas! but too well known to you all, have followed in such quick succession to the melancholy event which it has long been my duty to communicate, that, until the present hour, I have felt myself in every way unequal to the trying task of publicly announcing to you the death of our noble and enlightened patron, the late Earl of Minto; an event so unlooked for, and so painfully calamitous in its immediate effects, that, to use the energetic language of Mr. Muntinghe, it '*obliged us,*' as it were, '*to close our lips before the Almighty!*'

"For how difficult was it to be reconciled to our wishes,

and to our natural conceptions of right and wrong, that a man of such public and private worth should have been lost to his country, and snatched away from the embraces of his friends and family, at the very moment he was to receive the only reward which, in this world, could recompense his past labours—a calm and placid recollection of the arduous, but successful career he had run! How difficult was it to be reconciled to our ideas of remunerative justice, that the man who had so successfully served his country should only live to see his triumphs completed, but not be allowed to enjoy them; that he should not even have been allowed to live the necessary space of time to make the extent of his services known, and to describe the nature of the conquests he had made! And if, in this instance, it may occur that the public and the nation is, if not more, at least as much, the sufferer as the individual, how, again, is it to be reconciled to individual desert, that a man so eminent in private and domestic virtue; who had been seen, descending from the high station which he held, hastening in person to the pestilential shores of Batavia, administering on the way every aid and assistance to a sickly son; and who, after this beloved son fell a sacrifice, knew how to tranquillize his mind by the consoling reflection, *that his death was the first and only grievance which either this son or any of his children had ever inflicted on their parents;* that this father, blessed with such a family, and with such a sense of domestic felicity, should be snatched away by death, almost in sight of his home, and while they were stretching forth their arms to receive and embrace him!

"If not so strong and intense in their feeling, yet of the same nature, and more extensive in their operation, were the ties which attached him to this colony—to the whole

community of Java, and especially to our Society: a tender and parental care for the Island of Java was publicly avowed on different occasions; the proofs of it were received; the European community was saved and preserved by his humanity, and on his responsibility: for the native administration principles were laid down, on which the whole of the present structure has been raised; and in every instance a wish was evinced of improving the successes of war, as much in favour of the conquered as of the conqueror.

"It would not be proper on this occasion to enter into particulars; but who does not gratefully recollect the general tenor of his Lordship's conduct and demeanour while on Java? administering aid and assistance with his own hands to the maimed and wounded of his enemies; setting, in the midst of his successes, an example of moderation and simplicity of manner even to the vanquished —proceeding often in public without any other signs of greatness and distinction than what the whole community, singly and jointly, were eager to show him; never missing an opportunity of doing even a temporary good; and conciliating, by these means, the minds of the public to such a degree, that enemies were rendered friends, and that the names of conqueror and subduer were lost in those of protector and liberator. How hard, therefore, was it for the befriended and protected to lose their protector and liberator; and for the protector himself not to be allowed to see the fruits of his benevolence come to a proper maturity!

"But, however deeply we may, from these reflections, be led to bewail this melancholy event, let us beware not to murmur against the ways of Providence. Let us rather draw from all these circumstances the consoling

reflection, that the deficiency will be amply filled up in another state, where life, bliss, and happiness will be everlasting.

"Having paid this humble tribute to the memory of our departed Patron, I proceed to notice the result of those inquiries, which have either been set on foot by the Society, or have fallen under its immediate observation, in the various branches of its pursuits, since I had last the honour of publicly addressing you.

"At that period Dr. Horsfield had, under instructions from Government, just commenced his laborious exertions on Banca: we have since seen those exertions brought to a close; and I have to report the collection of the most complete information regarding the position, constitution, and productions of that important island. The state of society has not been omitted in the investigation, and satisfactory data have been furnished, on which to estimate the present condition of its inhabitants, as well as to contemplate plans for their progressive advancement in civilization and happiness.

"It is during the later periods only of the European establishments in the East that Banca has attracted notice. The discovery of the tin mines, about the conclusion of the last century, first gave it celebrity; but we can only date the commencement of scientific investigation, or of European control, from the period of its cession to the British Government in 1812. The Dutch Government, it is true, set on foot various inquiries at different periods; and some account of the population and produce of the country is contained in the earlier volumes of our Transactions; but those views being confined to commercial objects, and the despotic sway of the native government of Palembang still remaining

absolute, but little was known of the country beyond the extent of the produce in tin which it could annually export.

" In explanation of the geographical description, and in order to point out the places referred to in the descriptions of the mines, and in the detail of the mineralogical and botanical remarks, Dr. Horsfield has constructed the outline of a map, in which are laid down the principal rivers, the mountains and ridges of hills, with the settlements of the Malays and Chinese, and the divisions adopted by the original inhabitants.

" After entering into a detailed geographical account of the island, and furnishing statistic tables of the population and produce, Dr. Horsfield proceeds to a narrative of the mineralogical appearances, as explanatory of the constitution of the mines, and of the geological history of the country.

" On the mineralogical constitution of Banca, he observes, that ' the direction of the island being from north-west to south-east, it follows not only the direction of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula, but the large chain of Asiatic mountains, one of the many branches of which terminates in Ceylon, while another, traversing Arakan, Pegu, the Malayan peninsula, and probably Sumatra, sends off an inferior range through Banca and Billiton, where it may be considered to disappear.' The elevated parts of Banca are observed to have the same constitution as the great continental chain, being composed principally of granite. Next to these occurs a species of rock, which he terms ' *red iron-stone,*' extensively distributed on situations of secondary elevation, in single rocks, or in veins of many united together, covering large tracts of country. Tracts composed of this stone are bounded by alluvial districts, which are again subdivided into such as

are formed of waving hills, gradually rising on each other, apparently of prior formation, and of such as are low and level, of recent origin, and confining the discharge of rivers. Those districts which occur in juxtaposition of the primitive portions, filling the space between these and the veins of '*red iron-stone*;' or, again, between those and the alluvial parts, are stratified, the strata being uniformly horizontally arranged.

"It is through these horizontal strata that the tin ore is represented to be disseminated; and, as far as has hitherto been remarked, it appears to lie either immediately under the surface, or at no great distance below it.

'Another section of the report contains a view of the tin mines, exhibiting a general enumeration of those worked at present, or in former periods, with an account of the process of mining, and of the economy of the mines.

"The process of mining on Banca is remarkable for its simplicity; it consists in an excavation, of a square or oblong form, made by digging perpendicularly to the beds, or strata, containing the ore, and in a proper application of the water, to facilitate the labours of the miners and the washing of the ore. There is no necessity, as in other countries, where the metal lies concealed in deep veins, to have recourse to difficult operations, or expensive machinery. The process, indeed, requires so little previous instruction, that it is mostly performed by persons whose only qualification is a robust constitution. A favourable spot being selected, the pit is sketched out; a canal conducted from the nearest rivulet; and the miners excavate until they arrive at the stratum containing the ore: this is then deposited in heaps near the water, so as to be conveniently placed for washing. The aqueduct is lined with the bark of large trees; and a stronger current

being produced by the admission of more water, the heaps are thrown in and agitated by the workmen—the particles of ore subsiding by means of their gravity, and the earth being carried away by the current.

"When a sufficient quantity of ore is thus accumulated, the process of smelting commences: this is also very minutely and accurately described by Dr. Horsfield. It is unnecessary to observe, that almost all the operations connected with the process of mining and the refining of the metal are performed by Chinese.

"In his botanical pursuits, Dr. Horsfield has been peculiarly successful; his descriptions comprising a collection of upwards of five hundred plants, of which sixteen appear to be of doubtful genera.

"An account of the inhabitants, their mode of life and occupations, the state of agriculture, and the history of the different settlements, is introduced into this valuable report, which I hope will shortly appear in print, under the liberal patronage and support of the East India Company. In this expectation, and that I may not diminish the interest excited in its favour, or exceed the latitude with which I am vested, by more extensive drafts on the interesting information which it contains, I shall close these notices on Banca by a short account of the extent and character of the population, as it appeared to Dr. Horsfield at the early period of the establishment of European influence.

The inhabitants of Banca consist of Malays, Chinese, Orang Gunung, or mountaineers, and Rayads, (Orang Laut,) or sea people. The Malays are few in number, of a peaceable disposition, but indolent, and of little importance in the affairs of the island. The Chinese preserve, on Banca, their original habits of industry, enterprise, and perseverance; they are the most useful among the

inhabitants, and indispensable in the labours of the mines. The general character of the *Orang Gunung*, or mountaineers, the original, and, perhaps, most interesting portion of the population, is rude simplicity. Dispersed over large tracts in the interior of the country, they live nearly in a state of nature, but submit without resistance to the general regulations which have been established, and willingly perform the labours required of them, although their natural timidity and wandering habits render them, in a considerable degree, inaccessible to Europeans. The *Rayads* are the remains of a peculiar race of people so called, living with their families and household in small prows in the Bays of Jebus and Klabut, and obtaining a subsistence by fishing and adventure: particulars of the habits and dialects of both the mountaineers and Rayads will form a separate notice.

"On Borneo, if we have not derived the advantage of scientific inquiry, we have yet added considerably to our stock of information, in a more correct knowledge of the character and habits of the native population; in the collection of vocabularies of many of the dialects of the country, and in the attainment of many interesting particulars regarding the extensive colonies of Chinese, by which the gold mines are worked.

"Some notices have been received of ruins of temples, statues, and dilapidated cities, and of the existence of various inscriptions in different parts of the country, in characters unknown to the Chinese, Malay, or Dayak; but the information yet received is too vague, and, in some instances, too contradictory to be relied upon; and the question whether this island, at any former period, rose to any considerable degree of greatness, must yet remain undecided. Embanking, as it were, the navigable pathway between the eastern and western hemispheres,

and lying contiguous to the most populous regions of the globe, China and Japan, there can be little doubt but, at one period, she must have risen far above her present state of degradation and neglect. That Borneo was visited, many centuries ago, by the Chinese and Japanese is well established; but whether the country was ever more extensively colonized by either of those nations, than it is at present from China, must be left to future inquiry. Porcelain jars, plates, vases, and earthen utensils of various descriptions, the manufacture of China and Japan, are frequently discovered in different parts of the country; and such is the veneration in which these articles, so found, are held, that a single jar of this description has been known to be purchased by the Dayaks of the interior for a sum not far short of two hundred pounds sterling: these jars are prized by the Dayaks as the supposed depositories of the ashes of their forefathers.

"I would here notice the information collected regarding the different tribes of Dayaks which have come under observation, did not the detail appear misplaced in the very general view which I am, of necessity, compelled to take of the subject. I will only observe, that from a comparative vocabulary of as many of their dialects as are at present attainable, they appear to differ but little from the Malayan; that of the numerous tribes described by name and peculiarities, several are represented as tattooed; and that some are noticed with curled hair, and resembling the Papuas.

"In the vicinity of Banjar-Masing, no opportunity has been lost of improving our intelligence. Mr. Alexander Hare, the founder of the interesting colony established in the southern part of the island, has himself penetrated across the south-western peninsula; and as confidence in-

creases, we may look to a more extensive intercourse with the rude and scattered tribes of the interior.

"In a former discourse, I took occasion to notice, that the most prominent people on Celebes were the Bugis and Macasar; that, though speaking different languages, they adopted the same peculiar written character; and that the Mahomedan religion prevailed generally in those parts of the island which might be considered to have at all advanced from a state of barbarism.

"Confining our observations to the south-western limb of this whimsically-shaped island, we may infer that, notwithstanding the country has greatly declined since its intercourse with Europeans, it may still be reckoned populous, compared with many of the islands of the East. The population has been roughly estimated at about a million; but the data on which this estimate was formed, are not to be unreservedly relied upon.

"About the period of the first arrival of Europeans in the East, the Macasar and Bugis tribes were among the principal dealers in spices, and the Island of Celebes was nearly under the authority of a single Sovereign. On the breaking down of this great empire, several of the minor states submitted to European administration; while the support given to the authority of Boni, and the monopoly of the spice-trade by Europeans, effectually reduced the political influence of the ancient state of Goa.

"The most ancient state of which tradition makes mention on Celebes, is Luhu, or Luwu, situated in the inner part of the Bay of Boni; and their galigas, or historical romances, are replete with the adventures and exploits of *Sawira Gading*, the first Chief of that country, and who is said to have extended his dominions to the Straits of Malacca. Next to Luhu, the empire of Goa has the greatest claims to antiquity; and a period is

mentioned when this state extended its influence to Acheen, Manda, Sulu, Ternate, and the whole of the Spice Islands.

"In 1663 Rajah Palaka visited Batavia, and in 1666 co-operated with the Dutch government against the native states on the coast of Sumatra. From this period the authority of Boni advanced, until the recent arrangements by the British government.

"The Macasar and Bugis tribes are known to be the most bold, adventurous, and enterprising of all the Eastern nations. They were formerly celebrated for their fidelity and their courage, and for this reason were employed, as the Swiss in Europe, not only in the armies of Siam, Camboja, and other countries, but also as guards to their princes.

The most singular feature in the constitution of society on Celebes, is that of an elective monarchy, limited by an Aristocracy, generally hereditary, and exercising feudal authority over the minor Chiefs and population, at all times prepared to take the field; a constitution of society which, however common to Europe, is perhaps without parallel in Asia, where, from the influence of climate, religion, and political institutions, we seldom witness any considerable departure from the despotic sway of one individual. The whole of the states on that portion of Celebes to which I have alluded are constituted on this principle: the Prince is chosen from the royal stock by a certain number of councillors, who also possess the right of subsequently removing him; these councillors are themselves elected from particular families of the hereditary Chiefs of provinces; and such is their influence, that the Prince can neither go to war, nor, indeed, adopt any public measure, except in concert with them: they have the charge of the public treasure, and also appoint

the Prime-minister. The Prince cannot himself take the personal command of the army; but the usage of the country admits of a temporary resignation of office for this purpose; in which case a Regent succeeds provisionally to the rank of Chief, and carries on the affairs of government in concert with the majority of the council. Women and minors are eligible to election in every department of the state, from the Prince down to the lowest Chief; and when this takes place, an additional officer, having a title which literally means support, or prop, is appointed to assist. Some variation is observable in the different states: in Boni, the Prince is elected by the *Orang Pitu*, or seven hereditary councillors; in Goa, the Prince is chosen by ten councillors, of whom the first minister, termed *Bechara Buta*, is one. This last officer is himself first appointed by the council of nine, termed the nine farmers of the country; but in the exercise of his office possesses very extraordinary powers: he can even remove the Prince himself, and call upon the electors to make another choice. The inferior Chiefs, or *Krains*, who administer the dependent provinces, are appointed by the government, and not elected by a council, although, in the exercise of their office their power is in like manner limited; the number of the council varying, in different provinces, from two to seven.

"War is decided upon in the council of the state; and so forcibly is the desperate ferocity and barbarism of the people depicted by the conduct they observe on these occasions, and in their subsequent proceedings towards their enemies, that, however revolting the contemplation of such a state of society may be, it forms too striking a trait in their character to be omitted. War being decided upon by the Prince in council, the assembled Chiefs, after sprinkling their banners with blood, proceed to take a

solemn oath, by dipping their criss in a vessel of water, and afterwards dancing around the bloody banner with frantic gesture, and a strange contortion of the body and limbs, so as to give the extended criss a tremulous motion: each severally imprecates the vengeance of the Deity against his person, if he violates his vow. An enemy is no sooner slain, than the body is decapitated, and treated with every indignity which the barbarous triumph of savages can dictate; the heads are carried on poles, or sent in to the Lord Paramount. Some accounts go so far as to represent them devouring the *raw* heart of their subdued enemy; and whatever shadow of doubt humanity may throw over this appalling fact, it cannot be denied that their favourite meal is the raw heart and blood of the deer. This repast is termed *Lor Dara,* or the feast of the *bloody heart,* which they are said to devour, as among the Battas, in the seasons when limes and salt are plenty.

"This, however, is viewing them on the worst side of their character, with immediate reference to their conduct in war, and to practices found to prevail among that portion of the population labouring under the restrictions on foreign commerce; there are other points of view in which it may be more favourably considered.

"The inhabitants of the Wadju districts, in particular, are celebrated for their enterprise and intelligence; extending their commercial speculations, with a high character for honourable and fair dealing, from the western shores of Siam to the eastern coast of New Holland. Women, as before observed, take an active part in all public concerns, and are in no instances secluded from society, being on a perfect equality with the men. The strongest attachment that is conceivable is felt for ancient customs, and relics of antiquity are held in the highest possible

veneration. They are slow and deliberate in their decisions; but these, once formed, are final. Agreements, once entered into, are invariably observed on their part; and a Bugis is never known to swerve from his bargain. That natural politeness which characterizes the various nations and tribes distinguished by wearing the criss, is nowhere more forcibly exhibited than among the inhabitants of Celebes. Their minor associations are held together by all the attachment and warmth which have distinguished the clans of North Britain. The same bold spirit of independence and enterprise distinguishes the lower orders; whilst the pride of ancestry, and the romance of chivalry, are the delight of the higher classes. Attached to the chace as an amusement, rather than as the means of subsistence, the harvest is no sooner reaped, than each feudal Chief, with his associates and followers, devotes himself to its pursuits. The population being equally at the command of the feudal Lord, whether in time of peace or war, agricultural pursuits, beyond what may procure a bare subsistence, are but little attended to. The usual share of the crop at the disposal of the Chief is a tythe termed *Sima:* this, with a few imposts in the Bazars, and the services of the people, constitute the revenue of the state.

"The languages and literature of the Celebes require a more extended and detailed view than it is possible to take of either on the present occasion. I shall, therefore, only briefly observe, that the language prevalent throughout these states appears, at no very remote period, to have been the same; but that the various revolutions which first raised the power of Goa, and subsequently elevated that of Boni to a still higher importance, have, in separating the states under two distinct authorities, given rise to two prevailing dialects, now assuming the

appellation of two distinct languages—the language of Goa or Macasar is peculiarly soft, and is considered to be the most easy of acquisition, but not to be so copious as that of the Bugis—whether the Bugis language contains any portion of a more ancient language than either (of which traces are said to exist in some old manuscripts of the country), or, from commercial intercourse with other states, has adopted more foreign terms, is yet to be determined—the written character is nearly the same; the Macasars, however, using more consonant sounds than the Bugis—the same practice of softening the abrupt or harsh sound of a word ending in a consonant, by attaching a final *a* or *o*, so general in almost every tongue of the Archipelago, is common to, and, I believe, invariably observed in both these languages.

"The possible existence of a language distinct from, and anterior to those now in use, is a subject well deserving enquiry. The Bugis trace back to *Sawira Gading*, whom they represent to have proceeded in immediate descent from their heavenly mediator, Bitara Guru, and to have been the first Chief of any celebrity on Celebes. He reigned, as I before observed, over Luhu, the most ancient kingdom on Celebes, and a lapse of time equal to seven descents is said to have taken place before the establishment of Boni. Both this Chieftain, and the founder of the empire of Goa, are represented to have been great navigators and foreigners, or, according to the romance of native tradition, deities sent from heaven to govern and take care of them. The inhabitants of Macasar have no idea by what means, and at what period, the present form of government, of the nine *Glarang*, and the *Bichara Buta* of Goa, was established.

"Literary compositions, in both the Macasar and Bugis languages, are numerous: these consist principally

of historical accounts of the different states, since the introduction of Mahomedanism, which is represented to have taken place so late as the early part of the sixteenth century; of *Galigas*, or collections of traditions, regarding more early times; of romances and poetical compositions, in which love, war, and the chace are the favourite themes. They possess a paraphrase of the Koran, and several works evidently translated from the Javanese and Arabic, and many in common with the Malayu—works on judicial astrology, collections of institutions and customs which have all the force of law; and each principal state adopts the practice of duly recording every public event of importance as it occurs.

"I shall not longer detain you with notices on our external relations, while so wide and interesting a field attracts attention at home, on Java, and that range of islands which modern geographers have classed under the denomination of the Sunda Islands. I have hitherto refrained from noticing the extensive traces of antiquity, foreign intercourse, and national greatness, which are exhibited in the numerous monuments of a former worship, in the ruins of dilapidated cities, in the character, the institutions, the language, and the literature of the people, in the hope that abler pens would have attempted a more correct sketch than either my humble abilities or limited information enable me to contemplate or embrace: the subject is so extensive, so new, so highly interesting, that I must claim your indulgence, if, in aiming at conciseness in representing the appearances and facts which have most forcibly struck my attention, many still more important particulars pass unnoticed.

"On the peculiar province of Dr. Horsfield, to whom I am indebted for whatever information I possess on the natural history of the Island, I shall not further trespass

than by adverting to the extensive and almost endless variety which these regions present, in every branch of his pursuits. One observation, however, as connected with the earlier history of Java, in explaining the high fertility of its soil in comparison with that of the Malayan Peninsula and Sumatra, may deserve notice in this place. From the result of every investigation yet made, the constitution of Java appears to be exclusively volcanic, without any admixture whatever of the primitive or secondary mountains of the Asiatic continent; while, on the contrary, Sumatra, with Banca, as before noticed, appear to be a continuation and termination of the immense chain of mountains which pervades great part of Asia, and runs off finally in a direction north-west to south-east. Java deviates from the direction of Sumatra and the Peninsula of Malacca, in striking off directly west and east; in this direction it is followed by the larger islands of Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Endi, Timor, and by many smaller, which contribute to constitute an extensive series—the direction, as well as the constitution of all the islands enumerated, indicates the existence of an extensive volcanic chain in this part of the globe, running many degrees almost parallel with the equator. The consequences of Java being exclusively volcanic are, that while Sumatra abounds in metals, Java, generally speaking, is destitute of them*;

* All the indications yet discovered confirm the assertion that the constitution of Java is unfavourable to metals. The only notice as to the existence of gold or silver is contained in the first volume of the Transactions of the Batavian Society; and the attempts on Gunung Parang in 1723, and on the Mégé Mendung in 1744, were soon abandoned. Iron pyrites is found in small quantities in several districts, as well as red ochre, which, however, often contains so little iron as scarcely to serve for the common purpose of a paint. The existence of mercury in the low lands of Damak, where it is distributed in minute particles through the clay of the rice-grounds bounding one of the principal rivers in that district, cannot be considered as an indication of a mine, or of ores of that metal.

that while on Sumatra there are many extensive tracts, sterile and unfavourable to vegetation, Java, with few exceptions, is covered with a soil in the highest degree fertile, luxuriant, and productive of every species of vegetation.

"Referring to the ample details on the mineralogy of Java, which the scientific and persevering exertions of Dr. Horsfield have enabled us to include in our present volume, I shall, on this branch of our pursuits, only observe, that catalogues and collections of the varieties in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, as they have been found to exist on Java, have been formed by this gentleman, who is at present engaged in exploring the districts lying to the east and south of Souracarta, with the view of completing materials for the natural history of Java—his *Flora Javana* is already far advanced; the geography of plants is a subject to which he has particularly directed his researches. From the extensive range of the thermometer between the high and the low lands, Java presents to the botanist, at the least, six distinct associations of plants or floras, indigenous to as many climates, defined by their comparative elevation above the level of the sea*.

* The height of the principal mountains on Java is estimated at from 7000 to 8000 feet above the level of the sea. Several of them have been ascended, and measures are now in progress for ascertaining the elevation with some degree of accuracy. Lieut. Heyland, who has several times ascended Sindoro, observes, "that on reaching the summit on the 20th May, 1813, the sun had set, and the thermometer of Fahrenheit stood at 36°. During the night the thermometer varied between 36° and 44°; and as the day broke on the morning of the 21st, it was at 26°, a second thermometer at 30°. He immediately proceeded to the lake, and found it covered with ice of the thickness of about two Spanish dollars. A piece of double this thickness, found some distance from the edge on the same lake, induced a belief that it had remained unthawed on the day preceding, and had now received the addition of a second night's frost. The water in the soup-plates which had been used as hot-water-plates the evening before,

" If to the naturalist Java exhibits these extensive and wonderful varieties, to the antiquarian, the philologist, and the philosopher, she in like manner offers subjects of equal novelty, and even of higher interest, whether we investigate the splendid remains of her temples and her cities, her languages and her literature, or the character, institutions, and customs of her inhabitants.

" To attempt any satisfactory description of the various monuments of antiquity and of a former worship, which are to be found in almost every district of the island, would be impracticable on the present occasion, and, with the exception of a few notices, I must content myself with assuring you, that however deficient we may be in scientific information, or in a knowledge of the mythology sacred to which these monuments may have been reared, measures have been taken that a record, to be depended upon for exactness at least, should exist of the actual remains of Hinduism on Java. I am indebted to Captain Baker, who is now actively engaged in these pursuits, for the most accurate sketches of the present appearance of the most important of these ruins, as well as for ground-plans and elevations of the principal temples, with notices of much valuable information which is to be collected of their origin, object, and history.

" You are aware that the most splendid of these monuments are to be found at Prambana, Boro Bodo, and Singa Sari;—of the former an interesting description is given in the last volume of our Transactions, by our highly-esteemed friend, Colonel Mackenzie; circumstances have since admitted of a more minute investigation, and

was completely frozen through, and the ice the thickness of an inch." On another excursion, in October, 1814, the thermometers fell to 36 and 38, and the ice formed on them after they had been immersed in water and exposed to the air.

our information, as far as regards their present state, is much more complete. These extensive ruins hold claim to the highest antiquity, and considering the vicinity of the temples to have been the seat of the earliest monarchy on Java, I may be permitted, in the words of Captain Baker, to lament the contrast of the present times, with 'times long since past.' 'Nothing,' he observes, 'can exceed the air of melancholy, desolation, and ruin, which this spot presents; and the feelings of every visitor must be forcibly in unison with the scene of surrounding devastation, when he reflects upon the origin of this once-venerated, hallowed spot; the seat and proof of the perfection of arts now no longer in existence in Java; the type and emblem of a religion no longer acknowledged, and scarce known among them by name; when he reflects upon that boundless profusion of active, unwearied skill and patience, the noble spirit of generous emulation, the patronage and encouragement which the arts and sciences must have received, and the inexhaustible wealth and resources which the Javanese of those times must have possessed.'

"In attempting to describe the Chandi Sewo, or Thousand Temples, which form a principal part of these ruins, he laments his inability to convey any adequate ideas, satisfactory to his own mind, even of the actual dismantled state of this splendid seat of magnificence and of the arts. 'Never,' he observes, 'have I met with such stupendous, laborious, and finished specimens of human labour, and of the polished, refined taste of ages long since forgot, and crowded together in so small a compass, as characterize and are manifested in this little spot; and though I doubt not there are some remains of antiquity in other parts of the globe more worthy the eye of the traveller, or the pencil of the artist, yet Chandi Sewo

must ever rank with the foremost in the attractions of curiosity or antiquarian research.'

"I have preferred giving you the words of Captain Baker, while the subject was fully impressed on his mind, and while in the midst of the objects which he contemplated: there is a feeling excited at such a moment that gives a colouring to the picture, which is weakened in the faded tints of a more distant view.

"Next to Prambana the ruins of Boro Bodo may be ranked as remarkable for grandeur in design, peculiarity of style, and exquisite workmanship: this temple is in the district of Boro, under the residency of the Kadu, whence I presume it takes its name: Bodo being either a term of contempt cast upon it by the Mahomedans, or erroneously so pronounced, instead of *Bud'ho*, which, in its general acceptation in the Javanese language, is synonymous with ancient or heathen. It is built so as to crown the upper part of a small hill, the summit terminating in a dome: the building is square, and is composed of seven terraces rising one within the other, each of which is enclosed by stone walls, the ascent to the different terraces being by four flights of steps leading from four principal entrances, one on each side of the square. On the top are several small latticed domes, the upper part terminating in one of a larger circumference. In separate niches, or rather temples, at equal distances, formed in the walls of the several terraces, are contained upwards of three hundred stone images of devotees, in a sitting posture, and being each above three feet high. Similar images are within the domes above; in compartments on the walls, both within and without, are carved in relief, and in the most correct and beautiful style, groups of figures containing historical scenes and mythological ceremonies, supposed to be representations of a principal part

either of the Ramayan or Mahaborat. The figures and costumes are evidently Indian, and we are at a loss whether most to admire the extent and grandeur of the whole construction, or the beauty, richness, and correctness of the sculpture.

"The name and resemblance of the images which surround this temple to the figure of Buddha has induced an opinion that it was exclusively confined to the worship of that deity: but it should be noticed that in the immediate vicinity of this large temple, and evidently connected with it, are the remains of several smaller temples, constructed much after the fashion of the temples at Prambana, and containing a variety of sculptures and images of the Brahminical worship. A large but mutilated stone figure of Brahma was found in a field hard by; and as there are images similarly resembling Buddha to be found at Prambana, it would seem that, if they are ascertained to represent that deity, these buildings must have been erected at a period when the worship was not separated.

"Although the general design of this temple differs from those at Prambana, a similar style of sculpture and decoration is observable, and the same may be also traced to the ruins at Singa Sari, situated in the Residency of Pasaruan, where are still to be found images of Brahma, Mahadewa, Ganesa, the Bull Nandi and others, of the most exquisite workmanship, and in a still higher degree of preservation than any remaining at Prambanan or Boro Bodo. One of the most extraordinary monuments in this quarter, however, is an immense colossal statue of a man resting on his hams, of the same character as the porters at Prambanan, lying on its face, and adjacent to a terrace, on which it was originally placed: this statue measures in length about twelve feet, breadth between

the shoulders nine feet and a half, and at the base nine feet and a half, with corresponding dimensions in girth, cut from one solid stone. The statue seems evidently to have fallen from the adjacent elevated terrace, although it is difficult to reconcile the probability of its having been elevated to such a station, with reference to any traces we now have of the knowledge of mechanics by the Javanese—to have raised it by dint of mere manual labour would appear, at the present day, an Herculean task: the terrace is about eighteen feet high. A second figure of the same dimensions has since been discovered in the vicinity of the above; and when the forest is cleared, some traces of the large temple to which they formed the approach may probably be found. Not far from Singa Sari, which was once the seat of empire, and in the district of Malang, are several interesting ruins of temples, of similar construction, and of the same style of ornament.

"These buildings must have been raised at a period when the highest state of the arts existed, and constructed at no very distant date from each other: considered in this view, they serve very forcibly and decidedly to corroborate the historical details of the country, which are found to exist in the different written compositions and dramatic entertainments.

"In noticing the more prominent remains of antiquity, as they are to be traced from the architecture and sculpture of former days, I should be wanting in attention, and indeed in a due respect to the popular tradition, and the still-received opinion of the Javans, did I not notice Gunung Prahu, a mountain, or rather a range of mountains, for there are no less than twenty-nine points, which have distinct names, situated on the northern side of the island, and inland between Samarang and Pacalongan,

the supposed residence of Arjuno, and of the demi-gods and heroes who distinguished themselves in the B'rata Yud'ha, or Holy War. Here the ruins of the supposed palace of the Chief, the abode of Bima, his followers and attendants, are exhibited, and so rich was this spot in relics of antiquity, that the village of Kali Babar, situated at the foot of the mountain, is stated to have, from time immemorial, paid its rents in gold melted down from the golden images here discovered: so great indeed has been the desire to meet the courtly thirst for these interesting relics, that I regret to say many of the buildings composed of materials less in demand have suffered premature dilapidation on this account. Several interesting remains have recently been discovered by Major Johnson, Resident at the court of the Susunan; among these the ruins at Suku deserve particular notice: but I have already trespassed on a subject which it is impossible to treat well except in detail, and with reference to drawings of the extensive variety of erections, deities, and attributes which abound throughout Java.

"As connected with these early and splendid monuments of the former high state of the arts in Java, and illustrative of the history of the country, are to be noticed the great variety of inscriptions found in different parts of the island: fac similes of most of these have been taken, and I am happy to add that we have succeeded in decyphering some of the most interesting. The character on the stone found at Prambanan is no doubt one of the Dewa Nagri characters of India, and, with the exception of a few characters discovered at Singa Sari on the back of stone images, the only specimen yet discovered of this peculiar formation.

"From the vicinity of the former kingdom of Jong'golo, not far distant from the modern Surabaya, have been

brought several large stones of the shape of English tombstones, covered with the inscriptions of the ancient Javanese character, and in the *Kawi* language; translations (or rather paraphrases, for they principally contain prayers and invocations to the Deity, in a language, the meaning of a few words only of which are retained, while the idiom and grammatical construction has long been lost) have been made and will be found on the pages of our Transactions: it has fallen to my lot to succeed not only in decyphering the MSS. recently discovered in Cheribon, but also the inscriptions on the copper-plates so long deposited among the records of our Society as unintelligible: the results will be communicated to the Society in another form, and the subject will be more particularly adverted to, when speaking of the languages and literature.

"These inscriptions, which in general contain dates, are of the first importance in enabling us to trace the source whence the language and literature may have flowed, and to satisfy our minds of the prevailing worship at any particular period. It is only by an assemblage of as many data as can be collected from this source, from the remains of the arts, from the language, literature, and institutions of the people of the present day, compared with the best information we can procure of other countries of the East, which may have been civilized at an earlier period, that we can come at any fair and just result; the question is too extensive, too important to be lightly treated, or to be decided upon from any pre-conceived opinion or partial views.

"Did not other striking and obvious proofs exist of the claims of Java to be considered at one period far advanced in civilization, it might be sufficient to bring forward the perfection of the language, the accession which that language must in early times have received from a distant

but highly cultivated source, and the extensiveness for which it stands so peculiarly and justly distinguished.

"On the Island of Java, two general languages may be considered as prevalent. The Sunda language, which prevails in the western, and the Javanese, which is the language of the districts east of Cheribon—the former is a simple dialect accommodated to all the purposes of the mountainous classes who speak it, and perhaps differs from the Javanese, not so much in its construction, as in the portion of original and of Malayan words which it contains: one-fourth of the language, at the least, may be considered to be the same as the Javanese, another fourth is, perhaps, original, and the remaining half Malayan. At what period this extensive portion of the Malayan was adopted, or whether any part or the whole of this portion may not originally have formed the common language of this part of the country, is yet to be decided. In the Javanese, or language of the eastern division of the Island, and also of the lower parts of Bantam and Cheribon, the natural or vernacular language, in like manner, contains a considerable number of words in common with the Malayan, and the general principles of construction are found to have a striking accordance. We thus find strong proofs in support of one common origin of the prevailing languages of the Archipelago—notwithstanding, a large portion of the Malayan words now used on Java, may be ascertained to have been received at a comparatively recent date, and in the course of long and continued intercourse with the neighbouring countries.

"The Javanese language, properly so called, is distinguished by a division between what may be considered as the vernacular language of the country, in use by the common people among themselves, and which is adopted when addressing an inferior, and what may be considered as

a second, or court language, adopted by all inferiors when addressing a superior. The same construction, as well as the idiom of the language, is, I believe, pretty generally preserved in both the languages; the latter, however, consists of a more extensive class of foreign words, which would appear to have been picked and culled for the purpose: where different words have not been found from the common language of the country, an arbitrary variation in the sound of the word belonging to the common language is adopted, as in changing the word *progo* into *pragi, dadi* into *dados, jawa* into *jawi*, &c.; and the more effectually to render the polite language distinct, not only are the affirmatives and negatives, as well as the pronouns and prepositions varied, but the auxiliary verbs and particles are in general different.

"So effectually, indeed, does this arbitrary distinction prevail, that in the most common occurrences and expressions, the language that would be used by a superior bears not the slightest resemblance to what, with the same object, would be used by an inferior: thus, when a superior would say to an inferior—'It is a very long time that you have been sick,'—he would in the common or vernacular language use the words '*Lawas tĕmăn goni loro*,' while an inferior, using the court language, would to the same purport say '*Lamí tĕnus genípun sakit.*'—If the former would ask the question, 'Your child, is it a boy or a girl?' he would use the words '*Anak kiro wadon opo lanang?*' the latter would express himself '*Putro hijang'an díko, estrí punopo?*' Again, would the former observe, 'that the people of Java, both men and women, like to preserve the hair of the head,'—he would say, '*Wong pulu Jawa lanang wadon podo ng'ing'u rambut*,'—while the latter would use the words, '*Tetíang heng nusa Jawi estrí jalar samí n'inga rēmo*,' &c.

"It is not, however, to be supposed that these languages are so separated that the one is studied and attained exclusively of the other, for while one is the language of address, the other must be that of reply, and the knowledge of both is indispensable to those who have occasion to communicate with persons of a different rank with themselves. In the polite language, Kawi words are frequently introduced by the party, either to shew his reading, or evince a higher mark of respect—the Kawi is, however, more properly a dead language, the language of literary compositions of the higher class, and is to the Javanese what the Sanscrit is to the languages of Hindustan, and the Pali is to the Burman and Siamese: how far it may assimilate to either must remain to be decided by more accurate comparison and observation than we have yet had opportunity to make. It is in this language that the more ancient and celebrated of the literary performances of the country are written; and it is probable it will be found that, while the general language of Java possesses, in common with all the more cultivated languages of the Archipelago, a considerable portion of Sanscrit terms, the court language is still more replete with them, and that the Kawi, and particularly that which is reckoned most ancient, and which is decyphered from inscriptions on stone and copper-plates, is almost pure Sanscrit. The construction and idiom in these inscriptions is no longer comprehended by the Javanese, and there are but few whose intelligence and acquaintance with the terms used enables them to give even a faint notion of their meaning. Examples of these languages, taken from the B'rata Yud'ha, and from some of the inscriptions alluded to, will appear in the present volume.

"To facilitate the acquirement of a language in its nature so extensive and varied as that of the Javanese,

a method is adopted similar to what I understand is known in India, of classing the synonymes in such a manner as to connect them in the memory, by stringing them in classes according to the natural chain of our ideas; the collection or vocabulary so composed, is termed *doso nomo*, literally, *ten names*, and in point of fact, there are but few words in the language which have not at least as many synonymes. An example of this mode of instruction, and of assisting the memory, is also included in the present volume, as illustrative not only of the method alluded to, but of the great delicacy and variety of the language.

"I am happy to report that very extensive vocabularies, not only of both divisions of the Javanese, including the Kawi, but of the Sunda, and of the dialects of Madura and Bali, with notices of the varieties in particular districts and mountain tribes, have been collected; and that whenever our more intimate acquaintance with the written compositions of the country may afford the test of some experience in aid of what has already been done, the grand work of a grammar and dictionary may be accomplished; this has long been our first and grand desideratum *.

"In both the Sunda and Javanese languages, the same written character is in use—and it has not yet been traced whether the former ever had a separate written character or not: at a place, however, called Batu Tulis, on the site of the ancient capital of Pajajaran, is preserved an inscription on stone in very rude characters—and several similar inscriptions in the same character have been recently discovered at Kwali in Cheribon, whither some of the descen-

* "Considerable progress has been made since our last meeting in the acquirement of the Javanese language: the Rev. Mr. Trout, in particular, is prosecuting his studies at Samarang with great success; and arrangements are in progress for procuring from Bengal a fount of Javanese types."

dants of the Princes of Pajajaran took refuge; this character, till lately, appeared widely different from any other yet noticed in Java, but is now found to contain some of the letters and vowel marks in common with the Javanese. The date inscribed on the stone at Batu Tulis has fortunately been deciphered, and the character was doubtless used by the Sunda people at the period of the destruction of the western government of Pajajaran.

"No less than seven different characters are represented to have been in use at different periods of Javanese history —and although those at present adopted appear, at first sight, to be very different from the more ancient, on examination, the one may without much difficulty be traced to the other, by observing the gradual alterations made from time to time. Specimens of these different characters, with the periods in which they were respectively used, are submitted to the inspection of the Society; and I regret that the absence of an engraver precludes them from appearing in the present volume of transactions.

"The literature of Java, however much it may have declined in latter days, must be still considered as respectable—the more ancient historical compositions are mostly written in the Kawi language, to which frequently the meaning of each word, and a paraphrase of the whole in Javanese, is annexed. Of these compositions those most highly esteemed are the B'rata Yud'ha or Holy War, and a volume entitled Romo or Rama, the former descriptive of the exploits of Arjuno, and the principal heroes whose fame is recorded in the celebrated Indian poem of the Mahabarat, the latter of those who are distinguished in the Ramayan: these poems are held by the Javanese of the present day in about the same estimation as the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer are by Europeans. Until translations are made, and can be compared with

the more extensive works in India, it would be premature to form any judgment on their relative excellence. The B'rata Yud'ha is contained in about two hundred verses; but in rendering the Kawi into Javanese, it is found necessary, in order to convey anything like the meaning, to render one line of Kawi into at least three of the modern Javanese; and I should not omit to mention that the belief is general among the Javanese that the seat of this celebrated romance was on Java: they point out the different countries which are referred to, such as Hastina, Wirata, and others in different districts of the Island, which have since assumed more modern names; and the supposed mansion of Arjuno, as before noticed, is still to be traced on Gunung Prahu.

" These works, in common with almost every composition in the language, are composed in regularly measured verses, and as far as we can judge from the partial translations which have been made from them through the medium of the Javanese, they do credit to the power of the language and the genius of the poet.

" Historical compositions are divided into two general classes, termed *Pakam* and *Babat;* under the former are considered the Romo and B'rata Yud'ha: institutions and regulations for Princes and the Officers of State and Law, entitled Kopo Kopo, Jogol Muda and Kontoro; works on astronomy and judicial astrology, termed Wuku; and works on moral conduct, regulations and ancient institutions, termed Niti Sastro and Niti Projo: under the *Babat* are classed chronological, and other works on modern history since the establishment of the Empire of Mataram.

" There are in use for ordinary and popular compositions five different kinds of regular measured stanzas, termed *Tembang,* adapted to the subject treated of, whether

heroic, amorous, or otherwise: these are termed *Asmoron Dono, Dandang Gula, Sinom, Durmo,* and *Pangkur.* In the higher compositions, and particularly in the Kawi, these measures are still more varied, and in number upwards of twenty, twelve of which correspond in name with the stanzas used in the poetry of continental India.

"In repeating these compositions, they are chanted, or rather drawled out in regular metre according to rules laid down for the long and short syllables. Dramatic representations of various kinds form the constant recreation of the higher classes of society, and the most polished amusement of the country: these consist of the *Wayang Kulit* or Scenic Shadows, in which the several heroes of the drama, represented in a diminutive size, are made to perform their entrances and their exits behind a transparent curtain: the subjects of these representations are taken either from the more ancient works of the B'rata Yud'ha or Romo, and then denominated *Wayang Purwo;* or from the history of *Punji,* the most renowned hero of Java story, and then termed *Wayang Gedog.* The *Wayang Wong,* in which men personify the heroes of the B'rata Yud'ha and Romo is also termed *Wayang Purwo:* they have also the *Topeng,* in which men, wearing masks, personify those immortalized in the history of Panji, and the *Wayang Klitic* or *Koritchil,* not unlike a puppet-show in Europe, in which diminutive wooden figures personify the heroes of Majapahit.

"These dramatic exhibitions are accompanied by performances on the *Gamelan,* or musical instruments of the Javanese, of which there are several distinct sets; the *Salindro,* which accompanies the performances from the B'rata Yud'ha and Romo, as well as the Topeng; the *Pelog* which accompanies the Wayang Gedog, the *Kodok Ngokek, Chara Bali, Senenan,* and others; the Java-

nese music is peculiarly harmonious, but the gamut is imperfect.

"Whatever portion of astronomical science may have in former times been communicated to Java, the people of the present day have no pretensions to distinction on this account; it is true they possess the signs of the Zodiac, and still preserve a mode of calculating the seasons, the principles of which must have been discovered by a people well acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies: they also possess several works on judicial astrology, but in this they follow only what is laid down for them in the few pages of a book almost illegible, and in the tradition of the country*.

"It was my intention, in this place, to have attempted some sketch of the interesting and peculiar features of the Javanese character, with reference to those admirable institutions which distinguish the constitution of society among this people; but I have already trespassed too long upon your kindness—and there are two subjects which have recently attracted my particular attention, and

* "The signs of the Zodiac, as represented in the ancient MS. discovered at Telaga, in Cheribon, compared with the Indian Zodiac, are as follows: the figures being very correctly drawn, and the names, with the explanation, annexed to each.

Indian.	*Javanese MS.*
Mesha—the Ram	Misa.
Vrisha—the Bull	M'risa.
Mithuna—the Pair	M'ri Kogo (a butterfly.)
Carcata—the Crab	Calicata.
Sinha—the Lion	Singha.
Cunya—the Virgin	Canya.
Tula—the Balance	Tula.
Vrishchica—the Scorpion	Privata.
Danus—the Bow	Wanu.
Macara—the Sea Monster	Macara (Crawfish.)
Cumbha—the Water Jug	Cuba.
Mina—the Fish	Ména."

which, on account of their novelty, I am desirous of bringing to your notice. During my late tour through the Eastern districts, I visited the Teng'gar mountains, on which it had been represented to me that some remains of the former worship of Java were still to be found, and accident threw me on the shores of Bali, while attempting to reach Banynwangi. The simplicity of the people who inhabit the Teng'gar mountains, and the fact of such remains being still in existence on Java, is entitled to record; and I am aware that whatever information I may be able to communicate respecting Bali, however imperfect, will be accepted.

"To the eastward of Surabaya, and on the range of hills connected with Gunung Dasar, and lying partly in the district of Pasuruan and partly in that of Probolingo, known by the name of the Teng'gar mountains, we find the remnant of a people still following the Hindu worship, who merit attention not only on account of their being the depositaries of the last trace of that worship discovered at this day on Java, but as exhibiting a peculiar singularity and simplicity of character.

"These people occupy about forty villages, scattered along the range of hills in the neighbourhood of the Sandy Sea, and are partly under Pasuruan and partly under Probolingo. The site of the villages, as well as the construction of the houses is peculiar, and differs entirely from what is elsewhere observed on Java. They are not shaded by trees, but built on spacious open terraces, rising one above the other, each house occupying a terrace, and being in length from thirty to seventy, and even eighty feet; the door invariably in one corner, at the opposite end of the building to that in which the fireplace is built. The building appears to be first constructed with the ordinary roof, but along the front is an

enclosed veranda or gallery of about eight feet broad, with a less inclined pitch in the roof formed of bamboos, which are so placed as to slide out either for the admission of air, or to afford a channel for the smoke to escape, there being otherwise no aperture except a small opening of about a foot square, at one end of the building above the fire-place: this is built of brick, and is so highly venerated, that it is considered a sacrilege for any stranger to pollute it by the touch. Across the upper part of the building rafters are run across, so as to form a kind of attic story, in which they deposit their valuables and instruments of husbandry.

"The head of the village takes the title of *Petingi*, as in the low lands, and he is generally assisted by a *Kabayan*, both elected by the people from their own village: there are four priests, who are here termed *Dukun*, having charge of the sacred records.

"These *Dukuns*, who are in general intelligent men, have no tradition when they were first established on these hills, from whence they came, or who intrusted them with the sacred books, to the faith contained in which they still adhere:—these they concur in stating were handed down to them by their fathers, their office being hereditary, and the sole duty required of them being to perform the *puja* according thereto, and again to hand them down in safety to their children. These records consist of three compositions written on the *Lontar* leaf, describing the origin of the world, the attributes of the Deity, and the forms of worship to be observed on different occasions. Copies were taken on the spot, and as the language does not essentially differ from the ordinary Javanese, I hope at an early period to place the Society in possession of translations.

"In the mean time some notices of their customs, and

of the ceremonies performed at births, marriages, and funerals, may be interesting.

"When a woman is delivered of her first child, the Dukun takes a leaf of the Alang-alang grass, and scraping the skin of the hands of the child and of the mother, as well as the ground, pronounces a short benediction.

"When a marriage is agreed upon, the bride and bridegroom being brought before the Dukun within the house, in the first place, bow with respect towards the south—then to the fire-place—then to the earth, and lastly, on looking up to the upper story of the house where the implements of husbandry are placed, perform the same ceremony: the parties then submissively bowing to the Dukun, he repeats a prayer commencing with the words '*Hong! Gendogo Bromo ung'gas siwong'go nomo siwoko sany'yang g'ni siro kang**,' &c., while the bride washes the feet of the bridegroom. This ceremony over, the friends and family of the parties make presents to each of crises, buffaloes, implements of husbandry, &c.; in return for which the bride and bridegroom respectfully present them with betel leaf.

"At the marriage feast which ensues, the Dukun repeats two *Puja*, which will be found in the collection—the marriage is not, however, consummated till the fifth day after the above ceremony—which delay is termed by them *undang mantu*:—a similar delay is, in some cases, still observed by the Javanese in other parts of the island, under the term *undoh mantu*.

"On the death of an inhabitant of Teng'gar, the corpse is lowered into the grave, the head being placed to the

* "These prayers will be found at length in the Transactions of the Society—the word *Hong*, used by the Javanese at the commencement of their invocations to the Deity, is doubtless the Mystical *Om* of the Hindus.

south, (contrary to the direction observed by the Mahometans,) and bamboos and planks are placed over, so as to prevent the earth from touching it. When the grave is closed, two posts are planted over the body, one perpendicular from the breast, the other from the lower part of the belly; between these two a hollowed bamboo is inserted in the ground, into which, during seven successive days, they daily pour a vessel of pure water, placing beside the bamboo two dishes, also daily replenished with eatables. At the expiration of the seventh day, the feast of the dead is announced, and the relations and friends of the deceased assemble to be present at the ceremony, and partake of the entertainment—which is conducted as follows.

"An image of leaves, ornamented with variegated flowers, made to represent the human form, and of about a cubit high, is prepared and placed in a conspicuous place, and supported round the body by the clothes of the deceased: the Dukun then places in front of the garland an incense-pot with burning ashes, and a vessel containing water, and repeats the two *puja* to fire and water, the former commencing with '*Hong Kendogo Bromo gangsi wong'go yo nomo siwoho*,' &c., the latter with '*Hong, hong gong'go moho terto roto mejel saking hati*,' &c., burning *dupu* or incense at stated periods during the former, and occasionally sprinkling the water over the feast during the repetition of the latter.

"The clothes of the deceased are then divided among the relatives and friends, and the garland burned;—another *puja*, commencing '*Hong! awigno mastu nomo sidam, hong! araning*,' &c., is then repeated, while the remains of the sacred water is sprinkled over the feast, after which the parties sit down to the enjoyment of it, invoking a blessing from the Almighty on themselves, their houses,

and their lands. Nothing more occurs until the expiration of a thousand days, when, if the memory of the deceased is beloved and cherished, the ceremony and feast is repeated—otherwise no further notice is taken.

" On questioning them regarding the tenets of their religion, they replied that they believed in a Dewa, who was all-powerful, and that the term by which the Dewa was designated was *Bumi Truko Sangyang Dewoto Bator;* that the particulars of their worship were contained in the book called Panglawa, which they presented to me.

" On being questioned regarding the adat against adultery, theft, and other crimes, their reply was unanimous and ready—that crimes of the kind were unknown to them, and that consequently no punishment was fixed either by law or custom—that if a man did wrong, the head of the village chid him for it, the reproach of which was always sufficient punishment for a man of Teng'gar. This account of their moral character is fully confirmed by the Regents of the districts under whose authority they are placed, and also by the Residents. They literally seem to be almost without crime; they are universally peaceable, interfere with no one, neither quarrel among themselves: it may be unnecessary to observe, that they are unacquainted with the vices of gaming and opium-smoking.

" The aggregate population amounts to about twelve hundred souls; they occupy, without exception, the most beautifully rich and romantic spots on Java; the thermometer is frequently as low as forty-two; the summits and slopes of the hills are covered with Alpine firs, and the vegetation common to a European climate generally prevails.

" The language does not differ much from the Javanese of the present day, though more gutturally pronounced:

from a comparison of about a hundred words of the vernacular Javanese, two only differed. They do not intermarry or mix with the people of the low lands, priding themselves on their independence and purity in this respect.

" Passing from this last vestige of the Hindu worship now acknowledged on Java, (for the Bedui, though descendants of the fugitives of Pajajaran, scarcely merit notice in this respect,) I proceed to notice some of the leading observations which I made on Bali. The notices regarding the prevalence of Hinduism on Bali, and of the nature of the government and country have hitherto been so scanty, that on such interesting ground I may be pardoned for entering into some detail, without which it is impossible to convey a just notion of the subject.

" The Island of Bali is at present divided under seven separate authorities, each independent of the other, and of this heptarchy the state of *Klongkong* is acknowledged to be the most ancient, its princes tracing their descent from the princes of Java, and having once possessed authority over the whole island. In the regalia of this state are reported to be still preserved the Cris of *Majapahit,* the celebrated Gong named *Bentur Kadaton;* and although the other governments do not at the present day admit of any interference on the part of this state, they still evince a marked respect and courtesy to this family as the *Asal Rajah Bali,* the stock from which they sprung.

" The population is roughly estimated by the number of male inhabitants whose teeth have been filed, and whose services each prince can command—these amount to upwards of 200,000; the female population is understood rather to exceed the male, and as it may be considered that only the active and able-bodied men are

included in the above list, an average of four to a family may be fairly taken, giving a total population for the whole island exceeding 800,000 souls.

"The mode of government, institutions, and prevailing habits, are represented to be the same throughout the island, and the following sketch of *B'liling* may afford a just notion of the whole.

"The government is despotic, and vested in the Prince alone—he is assisted by a head *Perbakal* in all affairs relating to the internal administration of the country, under whom are immediately placed the heads of villages, and by a *Radin Tumung'gung*, who conducts the details of a more general nature, of commerce and foreign intercourse; the constitution of each village is the same, the head or chief is termed *Perbakal*, and the assistant *Kalian Tempek*. These officers are invariably selected from among the people of the village, the son, however, generally succeeding the father, if competent to perform the duties: under the *Perbakal*, who has the designation of *Perbakal Rajah*, are several inferior *Perbakals*, for general duties and communications with the villages; and under the head *Radin Tumung'gung* a similar establishment, bearing the rank and designation of *Kalian Tempek*. Among the heads of villages are many whose families have formerly distinguished themselves in the wars of Bali, and who are termed *Gusti*. The command of the military is at present vested in a Chief of the *Bramana* caste, who seems to receive honours and respect next to the Prince himself.

"Whatever may at former periods have been the extent and influence of the Hindu religion, Bali is now the only island in the Eastern Seas in which that religion is still prevailing as the national and established religion of the country. That high spirit of enterprise which burst

the bounds of the extensive confines of India, like the dove from the ark, rested its weary wing for a while on Java, till, driven from thence, it sought a refuge in Bali, where, even among the rudest and most untutored of savages, it found an asylum. The four grand divisions of the Hindus are here acknowledged, and the number of *Bramana* (Bramins) attached to the small state of *B'liling* exceeds four hundred, of whom about one hundred are termed *Pandita*.

"Without entering into the particular tenets of the prevailing Hinduism of Bali, which can only be treated of with propriety and correctness after a more thorough acquaintance with the practical duties, and some knowledge of what is contained in their sacred records, it may be affirmed without hazard, that Hinduism, as it exists at the present day on Bali, is rather to be considered as the nationalized Hinduism of Bali, in which a large portion of the native institutions and customs are admitted, than Hinduism as it is understood to prevail on the continent of India. The Bramins are, however, held in high veneration, and on being questioned as to their doctrines, and to what sect they belong, they answer, invariably, they are *Bramana Siwa*. They have the same appearance as Bramins wherever they are met with, and the Indian features at once distinguish them as descended from a foreign race. The town and small temples which we occasionally observed have the appearance of a Mahratta village, and the eye is struck with everything strictly Hindu, forming a most unexpected contrast with the present style of building and appearance of the country on passing through Java and the other Eastern islands.

"On inquiring into the relative rank and importance of their deities, they invariably described Bitara Guru as

the first in rank; then Bitara Bramah, the spirit of fire; Bitara Wisnu, the spirit of the waters; Bitara Siwa, the spirit of the winds.

"Besides these, they describe numerous subordinate deities to whom they pay adoration, as Dewa Gid'e Segara, the divinity of the great sea; Dewa Gid'e Dalam, the divinity who presides over death; Gid'e Bali Agung, the great and popular deity of Bali; Dewa Gid'e Gunung Agung, the great deity of the mountain; which last is the deity of most general worship.

"Bitara Guru, though considered as the highest object of worship, is declared to be subordinate to, and only the mediator with the divinity, whom they designate by the expressive and appropriate term of Sang Yang Tunggal, THE GREAT AND ONLY ONE.

"The bodies of the deceased are invariably burnt, and the wives and concubines of the higher classes perform the sacrifice of *Satia*. A few days previous to my landing on Bali, nineteen young women, the wives and concubines of the younger Rajah, who was lately put to death, sacrificed themselves in this manner.

"The written language of Bali differs but little from that of Java, but the character has a more ancient form: Kawi is the sacred language, and understood, or pretended to be understood, by the Bramins; the common language is a mixture of the original language of the country, and that of Java, in which the latter predominates.

"Deferring, until another occasion, a more particular review of the religion, institutions, and habits of this people, I will for the present confine myself to such observations as occur on the contemplation of the peculiar and extraordinary character they present, for the Balinese differs widely, both in appearance and character, from the

Javan, and indeed from every other nation of the Archipelago.

"The natives of Bali are about the middle size of Asiatics, larger and more athletic than the Javans or Malays, and carry an air of independence different altogether from the appearance of their more polished neighbours on the opposite coast of Java: the women in particular are well proportioned, they seem to be on a perfect equality with the men, they are not secluded from society, and their general intercourse with strangers, even Europeans, is frank and cheerful: they are fairer than the women in Java, and wearing no covering above the waist, the natural beauty and symmetry of their shape is neither restrained nor concealed.

"There are two kinds of slavery existing at Bali, and sanctioned by the laws of the country: the first is termed Paniak, by which is understood a perfect state of slavery; the second Rowang, which resembles the condition of the slave-debtor in Sumatra, and the Malay peninsula. Paniak is synonymous with Humba among the Malays, and signifies a slave: the master has complete possession of his person, and may lawfully transfer and punish with death, according to his will and pleasure, it being contrary to usage for the Prince to interfere. In the mode of acquiring this absolute property, there appears to be but little restriction. Prisoners taken in war, or families carried off from their countries, are daily sold and transferred, the deed of transfer, called, in Bali, Padol, being authenticated by the Tumunggung. In cases where an outrage occurs in a neighbouring state in alliance, application from the injured party, transmitted through the proper Chief, will cause the persons to be restored, and the perpetrators of the outrage are liable to the punishment of death; but in cases where the countries

are not immediately in alliance, or when the parties carried off from a friendly state happen to want friends to make application in their favour, no notice is taken of such occurrences. If a free man wishes to marry a female slave, he may obtain her by purchase, provided he can agree with the proprietor, otherwise he may be admitted to marry her on condition that he becomes a servant with her: this second degree of slavery comes under the title of *Rowang*. Persons convicted of offences not of the first magnitude are generally sold for slaves by the Prince, or taken to serve him as such. The term *Rowang* is used to express the second or modified degree of slavery. If a man happens to be indebted, and without the means of payment (the debt exceeding ten dollars), he may be sold by the Jaxa, and the amount for which he is disposed of is appropriated to repay his creditor, the surplus being divided between the Prince, the Jaxa, and the creditor, as a recompense for their trouble; the man sold in this manner becomes a *Rowang:* this state of servitude embraces every feature of slavery, excepting that the *Rowang* cannot be sold, put to death, or sent out of the country: if a *Rowang* wishes to marry, he may do so on receiving his master's consent, but the woman becomes a *Rowang* also. But the *Rowang* possesses this advantage,—that he may redeem himself at any time by paying the amount of the debt, or the money may be advanced for him, so that his condition becomes that of a debtor bound to serve his creditor until the amount of his debt is discharged. In the event of the debt not amounting to ten dollars, the party cannot be sold, but the Jaxa will order the goods and property of the debtor to be disposed of, and an obligation to be given for the payment of the remainder, whenever his circumstances may admit. A person indebted to another, and unable to pay, may make

over his wife and children to the creditor, who in such case will become *Rowang*, and on payment of his debt, eventually, he may demand back his family.

" In marriage, the dowry established by custom for all persons of equal rank is forty dollars, to be paid to the parents of the bride*; but as it happens in many cases that the husband is unable to pay this sum, he becomes indebted to the parents for the amount, and this constitutes a third branch of slavery under the term *Tatung'-gon*. The man and wife reside in the house of the bride's father, and the man performs service in attendance on the family, or in assisting in the cultivation of the land: when the husband is enabled to pay the dowry, he is then at liberty to quit the father's house, and to maintain an independent establishment, under the term of *Orang Merdika*, or free man. If the new-married man, however, behaves to the satisfaction of his wife's family, it often happens that after a certain time the father-in-law consents to remit the whole or part of the dowry, according to the circumstances of the parties.

" The punishments for crimes are death, confinement, and selling into slavery; neither torture to obtain confession, mutilation, nor even corporal punishment, are used: theft and robbery are punished with death; and for murder, treason, and gang-robbery, in aggravated cases, the punishment of death is inflicted by breaking the limbs with a hatchet: this, though it assimilates to the manner of breaking on the wheel, does not appear to have been adopted from Europeans, the practice being of ancient date: the party is left to linger, sometimes for several days, before death ensues. All executions are in public; other capital punishments are usually performed

" * In Bali, as well as on Java, the term used for this payment signifies a purchase."

with a *cris;* open robbery by daylight is punished by death, but stealing by confinement only; robbery by night invariably by death. All offences are punished in the Jaxa's Court, which consists of two Jaxas and two *Kancha* or Registers, the Perbakal being the prosecutor: the sentence of the Court must be confirmed by the Prince, previous to execution, whose warrant, or *Lontar,* is necessary in all cases. In civil cases the confirmation of the Prince is only required when persons are sold into slavery; a regular table of fees, in civil as well as criminal cases, is exhibited in Court, and the amount divided between the members and the Prince. In criminal cases, when the punishment is capital, the property is confiscated and divided in like manner, but in other punishments the parties retain their property. Adultery is punished with death to the man, and the woman becomes a slave to the Prince. Theft is the most prevalent crime, and adultery is uncommon, perhaps not twenty cases in a year: the husband has the power by law to kill both parties at the moment, if he detects them in the fact, but not otherwise.

"In their domestic relations, however, the conduct of the Balinese appears unexceptionable; and there is, indeed, a superior delicacy to what might be expected, and the tenderness towards early age speaks strongly in favour of their natural disposition. The parental authority is exercised with such tenderness, that it is peculiarly striking when taken in the same view with the apparently rude character of the people. They seem to evince a careless indifference to the rod of despotism which hangs over their head, and an air of good-humour and general satisfaction prevails throughout. Temperate in their diet, and strangers to drunkenness, the ruling passion is gaming, from cock-fighting to an inordinate and unprincipled de-

sire for conquest; such is the energy of the character, that it must find some powerful vent—something on which to discharge itself; and not being subject to a form of government calculated to repress their energies, they evidently feel no inclination to stand still in the scale of civilization. As a nation they are certainly invincible to any native power in the Eastern Seas; still maintaining a high and noble independence of character, they perhaps exhibit, in a concentrated spot, as much of human nature, checked by regulation, and yet not lowered or refined by it, as is to be found in any part of the universe.

"If we contemplate the various nations and tribes which inhabit the Southern Peninsula of India, and the innumerable islands composing that portion of the globe comprehended within Polynesia and Australasia, our attention is arrested by the striking uniformity in habits and language which prevails throughout, inducing the inference either of one common origin, or of early and very general intercourse.

"Such customs as the singular practice of filing the teeth and dyeing them black, noticed by the authors who have written on Pegu, Siam, Camboja, and Tonquin, and prevailing generally throughout the whole Malayan Archipelago; the practice of distending the perforated lobe of the ear to an enormous size, noticed in like manner to exist in the same parts of the Peninsula, and prevailing throughout the Archipelago in a greater or less degree in proportion with the extension of Islamism; the practice of tattooing the body, noticed among the Burmans and people of Laos, common to many tribes on Borneo, and particularly distinguished in some of the islands in the Pacific Ocean. If it is observed that this custom, as well as that of plucking the beard, was noticed in South America, the question may arise in what course or direc-

tion the tide of population may have flowed. In a recent publication an idea has been started, on the similarity of the languages, that the population of the Philippines and of the islands in the South Sea originally emigrated from America*. It will not be required of me to go into any description of those singular appendages to the virile member, noticed by the writers on Pegu, Siam, and Camboja, and adopted among many tribes of Borneo and the Moluccas: whatever may have been the origin of this

"* This author notices that, observing the proper names of places about the middle of the continent of South America were very similar to those of the Philippines, he endeavoured to procure a vocabulary of the country, and to examine the few words of the language of Chili which Ercilla mentions in his Araucana, and found them perfectly conformable to the language of Tagala. 'In examining the structure of the two languages,' he observes, 'we are compelled to conclude that they flow from one and the same source, and I dare to affirm that the Indians of the Philippines are descended from the aborigines of Chili and Peru, and that the language of these islands derives immediate from the parent source, those of the neighbouring islands being dialects of this: that there are many reasons, and one in particular, for supposing that the islands in the South Sea could not be peopled from the westward; viz., that in all the torrid zone the east wind generally prevails, which being in direct opposition to the course from Malacca and the adjacent islands, it is fair to conclude the inhabitants of all the islands in the South Sea came from the East, sailing *before the wind;* for we have seen it often happen, that the Indians from the Palaos have arrived at the Philippines precisely under these circumstances. On the contrary, we have no instance on record of any of the Philippine Indians having been, even by accident, carried by the winds to the islands to the Eastward.'

"'Here, therefore,' he concludes, 'we appear to have formed the most probable solution of our difficulties; that is, that the first settlers came out of the East, we may presume from the coast of South America, and proceeding gradually to the westward through the Pacific Ocean, studded as we find it with islands and clusters of islands, at no very great distance from each other, and of course of easy access before the wind; it follows that to whatever point in an eastern direction we trace the Tagalic language, we may conclude that at that point emigration must have commenced.'"—*Description of the Philippine Islands, by Martiner de Tuniga.—Marns. Trans.* p. 30.

very singular custom, traces are to be found even on Java of the veneration in which it once was held. The practice of triumphing over a subdued enemy may be common to the barbarous state in general, but the deliberate system of man-hunting, in order to procure heads as a trophy of manliness and military gallantry, however it may have originated in this feeling of uncivilized nature, may be ranked among the peculiarities of this portion of the globe.

"The language of the different tribes of Borneo is ascertained to bear a strong resemblance to that of the scattered tribes of Camboja, Champa, and Laos. The position maintained by Mr. Marsden, that the Malayan is a branch or dialect of the widely-extended language prevailing through the islands of the Archipelago, to which it gives name, as well as those of the South Sea, appears to be established and confirmed as our information advances; and if we except the Papuas and scattered tribes having curled hair, we find the general description given of the persons of the Siamese, and the ruder population of the adjacent countries which have not admitted any considerable admixture from the Chinese, to come very near to the inhabitants of the Archipelago, who may, in fact, be said to differ only in being of a smaller size, and in as far as foreign colonization and intercourse may have changed them.

"To trace the sources from whence this colonization and consequent civilization flowed, and the periods at which it was introduced into different states, is a subject new to the historian, and not uninteresting to the philosopher.

"If we admit the natural inference, that the population of the islands originally emigrated from the Continent, and at the same time the probability that the country

lying between Siam and China is the immediate source from whence such emigration originally proceeded, the history of the Eastern Islands may, with reference to that of Java in particular, in which a powerful Hindu government was, without doubt, early established, be divided into five distinct periods.

"The first division would include the period commencing with the earliest accounts of the population down to the first establishment of a foreign colony in Java, of which the written annals of the country make mention; the date of this is pretty accurately ascertained, and may be fixed at about the commencement of the sixth century of the Javanese era, or A.D. 600, when only the period of authentic history can be considered to commence.

"The origin of all nations is buried in obscurity, and unless we may succeed in obtaining new lights from Siam or China, we shall have but little to guide us during the early part of this division, beyond conjecture and such general inferences as may be drawn from a similarity in person, language, and usages, still found to prevail among the less civilized tribes. According to the division of Sir William Jones, the original population of the islands were doubtless of the Tartar race, and probably from the same stock as the Siamese. The Javans date the commencement of their era from the arrival on Java of *Adi Saka*, the minister of *Prabu Joyo Boyo*, Sovereign of *Hastina*, and the fifth in descent from *Arjuno*, the favourite of *Krisna*, and the leading hero of the B'rata Yud'ha. This epoch corresponds with that of the introduction of a new faith into China and the further Peninsula by *Saka*, *Shaka*, or *Sakia*, as he is differently termed, and with the chronology of the Hindus, as explained by Sir William Jones, in which *Saca* is supposed to have

reigned seventy-nine years subsequent to the commencement of the Christian era; but whether *Saka* himself, or only some of his followers assuming this name, found their way to Java may be questionable, and it is not impossible that the Javanese may have subsequently adopted the era, on a more extended intercourse with the further Peninsula*. A connexion would at any rate appear to have existed between Java and Siam, as this Adi *Saka* is not only represented to have founded the present era of Java, but to have introduced the original letters of the Javanese alphabet, by a modification of the letters used in Western India and in Siam. It does not appear that either he or his followers established themselves in any authority, and we can trace but little with certainty during the following five centuries; some of the Javanese accounts refer to the arrival of various settlers during this period, but we find no traces either of a government having existed, or of the establishment of any extensive colony, until the commencement of the sixth century. I should observe in this place, that the Javanese year corresponds pretty nearly with the Hindu year of Salivarna, and that the word *Saka*, in Sanscrit, means an epoch or era, and is applied to the founder of an era.

"The Javanese occasionally use the numerals for recording dates, but more generally and particularly, in dates of importance, they adopt an hieroglyphical invention termed *Chondro Sangkolo*, in which the different numerals from one to ten are represented by particular objects: this is either effected, in buildings and sculpture, by the actual representations of these objects, or in writing, by the insertion of their names, the meaning fre-

" * The present (1815) Javanese year is 1742: that of Bali 1733."

quently having some allusion to the fact which the date records. Thus the date of the destruction of Majapahit, in the Javanese year 1400, is recorded as follows, the order of the numerals being reversed—

Sirna—ilang—Kertaning—Burni
Gone—gone—is the work—of the land
0 0 4 1

"Anterior to this supposed arrival of *Adi Sacha*, the two most eventful periods in the history of these countries, of which tradition and history make mention, are, first, that which includes the incursions of the far-famed race who have been supposed to have peopled South America*, and, according to Sir William Jones, 'imported into the furthest parts of Asia the rites and fabulous history of Rama;' and, secondly, that which includes the consequences of the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. That the fabulous history of Rama, as well as the exploits of Alexander, have been current in the Malayan Archipelago from time immemorial, cannot be questioned; and it may be remarked, that while the Javans use the term *Rama* for father, the Malays universally attempt to trace their descent from Alexander, or his followers. Sumatra was long considered to have been the *Taprobâne* of the ancients; and when we advert to the single circumstance that this was said to be a country in which the North Polar Star was not visible, or only partially, we must still doubt the correctness of the modern conclusion in favour of Ceylon. The Eastern Islands furnish that peculiar kind of produce which has, from the earliest times, been in demand by continental

* "See a former note on the similarity between the languages of South America and the Philippines, and the recent works of Humboldt, on the existence of Hindu remains still found in America, in support of this assertion."

nations; and the same avidity with which, in modern days, Europeans contended for the rich products of the Moluccas, in all probability actuated, at a much earlier period, adventurers from Western India. Traces of intercourse with Ethiopia may be found at this day in the scattered tribes of the woolly-haired race peculiar to Africa, which are to be found on the Andamans, on the southern part of the further Peninsula, and throughout the Archipelago; and that the Hindus were, at one period, an enterprising and commercial nation, may, I think, be established with little difficulty, from the incontestable proofs which at this day exist on Java, and the traffic which still exists in native vessels, and on native capital, between the Coromandel coast and the Malayan peninsula. If any country, therefore, in the Archipelago lays claim to this distinction more than another, it is Java; but probably it was rather to the Eastern Islands generally, than to one island in particular, that the appellation was given. Both Ptolemy and the Arabians would seem to have designated the Islands by one general name; by the one, they were termed *Jabadios Insulæ;* by the others, *Jaù,* or *Jawa:* hence, probably, the confusion in the Travels of *Marco Polo,* and the still disputed question between *Java Major* and *Java Minor**.

* "If we reflect upon the extent and nature of the recent volcanic phenomena on Sumbawa, and the effects which may have been produced by similar convulsions of nature, we are led to conclude that the present appearance and form of the various islands of the Archipelago may be very different from what they were two or three thousand years ago. At that period these Islands may have formed part of the main land, or have been themselves united in one continent. An authentic account of this extraordinary phenomenon, as far as can be collected from information yet received, is submitted to the Society, and will be found in the subsequent pages of its Transactions. I can vouch for the correctness of the statements, and the raw materials may be found useful in the hand of the natural historian."

"The second division would include the period between this first regular establishment from Western India, and the decline and fall of the first Eastern empire of Java, which may be fixed, with tolerable accuracy, at about the Javanese year 1000, or A.D. 1073.

"During this period, by far the most eventful in the history of Java, we shall find colonies of foreigners establishing themselves not only on Java, but on various other islands of the Archipelago; that the arts, particularly those of architecture and sculpture, flourished in a superior degree; and that the language, literature, and institutions of the continent of India were transferred, in various directions, through the Oriental Islands. It was during this period that the principal temples, of which the ruins now exist on Java, were built; and besides the concurring testimonies of tradition, and the written compositions of the country, the numerous inscriptions and dates on stone and copper, the characters of which we are now able to decipher, as well as the ancient coins, would lend essential aid in establishing a correct chronology. On the one hand, we should have to direct our inquiries to the history of the various continental nations from whence these foreigners might have proceeded; and, on the other, to the nature and extent of the establishments, intercourse, and civilization introduced by them into the different islands.

"This period will commence from the arrival of *Awap*, the reputed son of *Balia Atcha*, Sovereign of Kudjirât, who came in search of a celebrated country described in the writings of *Saka*, and under the name of *Sewelo Cholo* established the first regular monarchy of which the Javanese annals make mention; and include the adventures of the celebrated *Panji*, the pride and admiration of succeeding ages. Our attention would also be directed in a

particular manner to the intercourse between Java and the other Islands, and the nature and extent of the foreign establishments formed by Java. Tradition and the popular romances of the country represent not only the kingdoms of Goa and Luhu on Celebes, but even the kingdom of Menagkabú, on Sumatra, to have been established about the conclusion of this period by Princes from Java.

"The third division would include the period from the above date, till the final overthrow of the second Eastern Empire, in the Javanese year 1400. Some idea may be formed of the power and opulence of this second empire established at Majapahit, from the extensive ruins of that city still extant: these I took an opportunity of visiting during my late tour; and I believe I am within the mark, when I represent the walls to have enclosed a space of upwards of twenty miles in circumference.

"Within this period will be included the establishment of the Western Empire at Pajajaran; the subsequent division of the Island under the Princes of Majapahit and Pajajaran; the eventual supremacy of Majapahit; and the final overthrow of the government and ancient institutions of the country, by the general establishment of the Mahomedan faith.

"It was during this period that Java may be said to have risen to the highest pitch of her civilization yet known, and to have commanded a more extensive intercourse throughout the Archipelago, than at any former period. Colonies from Java were successively planted on Sumatra, the Malayan peninsula, Borneo, and Bali, the Princes of which countries still trace their descent from the house of Majapahit; and that adventurers from Western India, from Siam, from Champa, from China, and from Japan, frequented Java in the greatest number;

but the object of first importance will be to trace the introduction, progress, and final establishment of the Mahomedan faith in the various countries where it now is acknowledged as the established religion; and particularly on Java, where we find that, notwithstanding attempts to make proselytes were made as early as the commencement of the twelfth century, such was the attachment of the people to their ancient faith and institutions, that they did not effectually succeed till the latter end of the fifteenth century of the Christian era.

"The fourth division would commence with the establishment of the Mahomedan government on Java, and might be brought down to the establishment of the Dutch in the Eastern Seas, say A.D. 1600; and a fifth, and by no means uninteresting period, might include the history of the European establishments, down to the conquests by the British arms in 1811.

"The further prosecution of this extensive inquiry would lead me beyond the limits at present prescribed; and I must, therefore, conclude with drawing your attention to the striking similarity between the early state of Greece, and that of the Malayan Islands: change but the names, and the words of Mitford's Introduction to his History of Greece will be found equally applicable to this more extensive Archipelago.

"'Thus,' he observes, 'Greece, in its early days, was in a state of perpetual marauding and piratical warfare. Cattle, as the great means of subsistence, were first the great objects of plunder; then, as the inhabitants of some parts by degrees settled to agriculture, men, women, and children were sought for as slaves. But Greece had nothing more peculiar than its adjacent sea, where small islands were so thickly scattered, that their inhabitants, and in some measure those of the shores of the surround-

ing continents also, were mariners by necessity; water-expeditions, therefore, were soon found most commodious for carrying off spoil. The Greeks, moreover, in their more barbarous state, became acquainted with the precious metals; for the Phœnicians, whose industry, ingenuity, and adventurous spirit of commerce, led them early to explore the further shores of the Mediterranean, and even to risk the dangers of the ocean beyond, discovered mines of gold and silver in some of the Islands of the Ægean, and on its northern coast they formed establishments in several of the islands; and Thasus, which lay convenient for communication with the most productive mines, became the seat of their principal factory. Thus was offered the most powerful incentive to piracy, in a sea whose innumerable islands and ports afforded singular opportunity for the practice. Perhaps the conduct of the Phœnicians towards the uncivilized nations, among whom the desire of gain led them, was not always the most upright or humane; hostilities would naturally ensue, and hence might first arise the estimation of piracy, which long prevailed among the Greeks as an honourable practice.'

"Java has long been advanced beyond that state in which piracy and robbery are held to be honourable in the eyes of men; but the picture will be found pretty correct of those Islands strictly denominated Malayan.

"The superior and extraordinary fertility of the soil may serve to account for the extensive population of Java, compared with that of the other islands; and when to the peaceable and domestic habits of an agricultural life are added the facilities for invasion along an extensive line of coast, accessible in every direction, it will not be surprising that she should have fallen an easy prey to the first invader. She appears to have lost by these

invasions much of that martial spirit and adventurous enterprise which distinguishes the population of the other Isles; but, at the same time, to have retained not only the primitive simplicity of her own peculiar usages, but all the virtues and advantages of the more enlightened institutions which have been introduced at different periods from a foreign source. At all events, when we consider that her population cannot be less than four millions, and when we witness the character and literature of the people as it is even now exhibited, we must admit that Java had attained a far higher degree of civilization than any other nation in the southern hemisphere.

"You will, however, expect from me some notice regarding Japan, 'that celebrated and imperial Island,' which, to use the words of Sir William Jones, bears 'a pre-eminence among Eastern kingdoms, analogous to that of Britain among the nations of the West;' and however slender may have been the information procured, such as it is I venture to submit it to you, nearly as I received it from the verbal communications of Dr. Ainslie.

"It may be satisfactory and gratifying, in the first place, to observe that every information which has been obtained tends to confirm the accuracy, the ability, and the impartiality of Kæmpfer, whose account of Japan is, perhaps, one of the best books of the kind that ever was written, considering the circumstances under which he was sent. I am assured that there is not a misrepresentation throughout. He was a man of that minute accuracy, and that habitude of talent, which saw everything as it stood, and not through the mist or medium of any preconception. The Japanese observe of him, that he is in history 'the very apostle of their faith,' and from whose works alone they know even their own country. Their first inquiry was for a copy of Kæmpfer; and, endeavouring to

evince the estimation in which this author was held by them, their observation was literally that 'he had drawn out their heart from them, and laid it palpitating before us, with all the movements of their government, and the actions of their men.'

"Referring you, therefore, to the works of Kæmpfer for an account of their history, institutions and acquirements, as genuine data on which this interesting people may be appreciated, I need only offer a few notices on the character which they appeared to Dr. Ainslie to display, during a residence of four months, and as far as he had the opportunity of judging.

"They are represented to be a nervous, vigorous people, whose bodily and mental powers assimilate much nearer to those of Europe, than what is attributed to Asiatics in general. Their features are masculine, and perfectly European, with the exception of the small lengthened Tartar eye, which almost universally prevails, and is the only feature of resemblance between them and the Chinese. The complexion is perfectly fair, and indeed blooming, the women of the higher classes being equally fair with Europeans, and having the bloom of health more generally prevalent among them than is usually found in Europe.

"For a people who have had very few, if any, external aids, the Japanese cannot but rank high in the scale of civilization. The traits of a vigorous mind are displayed in the sciences, and particularly in metaphysics and judicial astrology. The arts speak for themselves, and are deservedly acknowledged to be in a much higher degree of perfection than among the Chinese, with whom they are, by Europeans, so frequently confounded. The latter have been stationary, at least, as long as we have known them; but the slightest impulse seems sufficient

to give a determination to the Japanese character, which would progressively improve, until it attained the same height of civilization with the European. Nothing, indeed, is so offensive to the feelings of a Japanese, as to be compared, in any one respect, with the Chinese; and the only occasion on which Dr. Ainslie saw the habitual politeness of a Japanese ever surprised into a burst of passion, was upon a similitude of the two nations being unguardedly made, when he laid his hand on his sword.

"The people are said to have a strong inclination to foreign intercourse, notwithstanding the political institutions to the contrary; and perhaps the energy which characterizes the Japanese character cannot be better elucidated than in that extraordinary decision which excluded the world from their shores, and confined themselves within their own limits: a people who had before served as mercenaries throughout all Polynesia, and who traded with all nations—themselves adventurous navigators.

"There is by no means that uniformity among them which is observed in China, where the impression of the government may be said to have broken down all individuality, and left one Chinese the counterpart of another. Unlike the Chinese, the women here are by no means secluded: they have a society among themselves, as the ladies of Europe. During the residence of Dr. Ainslie, frequent invitations and entertainments were given: on these occasions, and at one in particular, a lady from the court of Jeddo is represented to have done the honours of the table with an ease, elegance, and address that would have graced a Parisian. The usual dress of a Japanese woman of middle rank costs, perhaps, as much as would supply the wardrobe of an European lady of the same rank for twenty years.

"The Japanese, with an apparent coldness like the stillness of the Spanish character, and derived nearly from the same causes,—that system of espionage, and that principle of disunion, dictated by the principles of both governments,—are represented to be eager of novelty and warm in their attachments; open to strangers; and, bating the restrictions of their political institutions, a people who seem inclined to throw themselves into the hands of any nation of superior intelligence: they have, at the same time, a great contempt and disregard for everything below their own standard of morals and habits, as instanced in the case of the Chinese.

"This may appear to be contradicted by the mission from Russia in 1814, under Count Kreusenstern; but the circumstances under which that mission was placed should be considered. From the moment of their arrival they were under the influence of an exclusive factory, who continued to rain upon them every possible ignominy which can be supposed to have flowed from the despotism of Japan, through the medium of an interested and avaricious factor, who dreaded competition, or the publication of his secret. The warehouse in which the Russian mission had been lodged, was pointed out to Dr. Ainslie, who observes, that 'as the rats were let out, the Count and his suite were let in, where they remained for six long months, with scarce room to turn; the mark of obloquy to the Japanese, and the laughing-stock to the European factory. So lively, indeed, was the impression of the occurrence, that the chief Japanese officer asked the English commissioner if he, too, would condescend to play the part of the Russian count; the officer answering to his own question, 'No, I trust not.'

"The mistaken idea of their illiberality in religious matters, seems to have been fully proved; and the

late mission experienced it in a degree hardly credible, and little expected by themselves, from the representations previously made to them. The story of the annual test of trampling on the crucifix at Nangasaki and the other important cities is a story derided by the Japanese priesthood. On visiting the great temple on the hills of Nangasaki, the English commissioner was received with marked regard and respect by the venerable patriarch of the northern provinces, eighty years of age, who entertained him most sumptuously. On shewing him round the courts of the temple, one of the English officers present heedlessly exclaimed in surprise, '*Jasus Christus.*' The patriarch turned half round, with a placid smile, bowed significantly, expressive of 'We know you are *Jasus Christus* well; don't obtrude him upon us in our temples, and we remain friends;' and so with a hearty shake of the hands these two opposites parted. This leave-taking reminded Dr. Ainslie very forcibly of the story Dr. Moore tells so well of the Duke of Hamilton and himself taking leave of the Pope. The Pope, who had conceived a regard for the young Duke, on the latter making his congé, said, 'I know you laugh at the benediction of a Pope; but the blessings of an old man can do you no harm;' and laid his hand on his head, and blessed him.

"The massacre of Samebarra is, by the Japanese, attributed to European intrigue; and even Kæempfer notices that the European ships of war formed the practical breach through which the Japanese entered, and perpetrated that massacre, to which it would appear that they had been originally prompted by others.

"That the negociations from England, on a former occasion, should not have been more successful than the late attempt from Russia, may easily be accounted for,

when we reflect on the possibility of the favourite factor having said to them, 'forty years ago your throne has been all but overturned by the intrigue of these *heretics;* this embassy comes from the King who has married the daughter of the head of that caste, and from whom you can expect nothing less than an irruption still more fatal to your tranquillity. Such an argument, pushed by a narrow-minded and interested factor, could not but carry weight with the Japanese, accustomed to respect, and to place all confidence in their western visitors.

"They are not averse to the indulgence of social excess, and on these occasions give a latitude to their speech, which one would hardly suppose they dared to do in Japan.

"It is an extraordinary fact, notwithstanding the determination of the empire not to enter into foreign commerce, that for seven years past, since the visitation of Captain Pellew, the English language has, by an edict from the Emperor, been cultivated with considerable success by the younger members of the College of Interpreters; they were, indeed, anxious in their inquiries after English books.

"While the commissioner was at Nangasaki, there arrived a large detachment of officers of rank, who had been out nearly four years, and not yet completed one-fourth of a survey on which they were engaged. These officers were attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, and were employed in making a practical survey of every foot of the empire and the dependant isles. The survey appeared to be conducted on a scientific principle, to be most minute and accurate in its execution, and to have for its object a regular geographical and statistical survey of the country.

"In a word, the opinion of Dr. Ainslie is, that the

Japanese are a people with whom the European world might hold intercourse without compromise of character; for the Japanese themselves are wonderfully inquisitive in all points of science, and possess a mind curious and anxious to receive information, without inquiring from what quarter it comes.

"In the same spirit let us hope that now, when

> 'That spell upon the minds of men
> Breaks, never to unite again'—

no withering policy may blast the fair fruits of that spirit of research which has gone forth from this Hall; nor continue, under any circumstances, to shut out one-half of the world from the intelligence which the other half may possess."

THE END.

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